FBIS DAILY REPORT

# CONTENTS

*Eastern Europe*

*Vol II No 171* *3 September 1981*

ALBANIA

Dailies Celebrate Vietnam's National Day B 1
Increase of Students for 1981-82 School Year B 1
Briefs: Press Day Meeting; Turkish Delegation's Visit; Publication of AWP History B 2

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Birthday Celebrated at 'Festive Meeting' C 1
Other Events C 1
Meeting Marks Libyan Day; U.S. Criticized C 1
Joint Talks With Sweden Held in Sofia 2 Sep C 2
Briefs: Dzhurov at Military Graduation C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Ministry, Daily Respond to Aggression in Angola D 1
Foreign Ministry Declaration D 1
[RUDE PRAVO 1 Sep]
GDR Not 'Meddling' [RUDE PRAVO 1 Sep] D 1
1981 Trade Protocol With Poland Signed in Prague D 2
Solidarity's Bujak Delivers Antistate Speech D 3
Leaders, Daily Respond to Iranian Deaths D 3
Condolences Sent to Iran [RUDE PRAVO 1 Sep] D 3
Bratislava PRAVDA Comments [1 Sep] D 4

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

South African Policy Toward Angola Condemned E 1
Foreign Minister Fischer E 1
Angolan Minister da Silva E 1
Erich Honecker Comments on Dialogue With FRG E 2
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 31 Aug]
FRG Citizen Sentenced for Military Espionage E 2
Honecker Receives Credentials of UK Envoy E 3
Egon Krenz Addresses Students' Forum in Berlin E 3
Briefs: Harvest Status Report; Sports Protocol With Cuba E 3

HUNGARY

Losonczi, Sarlos Greet Resistance Federation F 1

POLAND

Reportage on Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum G 1
Glowczyk Report G 1
Session Speakers G 11
Debates Continue G 13
2 Sep Session Ends G 14
Plenum Resumes 3 Sep G 14
PZPR International Commission Meets 2 Sep G 15
KKP of Solidarity Opens 2-Day Session in Gdansk G 15
Two Resolutions Adopted G 15
Meeting Continues 3 Sep G 16

TRYBUNA LUDU on Solidarity Access to Media G 17
Rakowski Interviewed on Current National Issues G 17
Ciosek Views Government-Solidarity Situation G 20
Director Not Removed; Rzeszow Sit-In Strike Begins G 20
LE MONDE Reports on Olsztyn Printers' Strike G 21
[Bousoglou, Paris, 30-31 Aug]
LE FIGARO Considers Solidarity's 'Politicization' G 22
[Margueritte, Paris, 1 Sep]
No Conclusive Results From Bydgoszcz Investigation G 24
Farmers' Solidarity Stages Protest in Zielona Gora G 25
NSZZ Farmers Seek Joint TU-Unions Meeting G 25
Two New National Trade Unions Registered G 25
Journalists Association Adopts Resolution G 25
Milewski Interviewed on Current Situation G 27
[TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Aug]
LE MATIN Describes Difficult Meat Situation G 30
[Huchet, Paris, 28 Aug]
Premier Decrees Economic Reform Preparations G 32
[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 31 Aug]
SLOWO POWSZECHNE on Church's Role in Conflict G 34
[22-23 Aug]
National Coal Production Figures Announced G 35
Kania Congratulates Resistance Leader on Birthday G 35
Deputy Minister Pozoga on 'Western Espionage' G 36
[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Aug]

ROMANIA

Ceausescu RCP Address Criticizes Farm Production H 1
[SCINTEIA 30 Aug]
Agricultural Cooperatives Union Holds Plenum H 13
Ceausescu Visits Prahova County 3 September H 13
USSR Agricultural Academy Chairman Visits H 14
[SCINTEIA 27 Aug]
Ceausescu Receives Japanese Parliamentary Group H 14
Briefs: British Municipal Delegation H 14

YUGOSLAVIA

Festive Session Held on Nonaligned Anniversary I 1
Kraigher Speech I 1
Markovic Speech I 10

DAILIES CELEBRATE VIETNAM'S NATIONAL DAY

AU021050 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 2 Sep 81

["On Occasion of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 2 Sep (ATA)--The newspapers "ZERI I POPULLIT" and "BASHKIMI" devote today articles to the national day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

After speaking of the importance of the proclamation of the republic and the efforts and the fierce and many-year long struggles the Vietnamese people have had to wage against the French colonizers, Japanese militarists and the traitors to the country for the attainment of this historic victory, the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" points out the heroism with which the Vietnamese people fought against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their collaborators in Saigon.

The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes further on: the barbarous aggression of the U.S. imperialists caused grave wounds to the Vietnamese people, who after the April 30, 1975 victory mobilized themselves in their creative work to reconstruct the country. But hardly had four years gone by since April 30, 1975 victory and Vietnam became a target for the new aggressors. Due to the quarrels, intrigues and maneuvres of the imperialist superpowers for expansion a grave situation was created round the D.R. of Vietnam. It is precisely in this atmosphere that in February 1979 the Chinese social-imperialists unleashed their fascist-type aggression against the Vietnamese people, clearly displaying in this way that the policy of the Beijing rulers is a chauvinist, aggressive and hegemonic policy. But the valiant Vietnamese people gave the rebuff to the new aggressors, the Chinese social-imperialists, filled them with shame and exposed them as chauvinists and enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The situation arisen at present in the region of Southeast Asia shows that the inter-imperialist rivalries have been aggravated that U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to regain the lost positions, at a time when Soviet social-imperialism has tried and is trying to completely fill in the neocolonial "vacuum" in this region. The Chinese social-imperialists, too, are more and more engaging in this dangerous game. They, feeling themselves still weak, hope to realize their chauvinist ambitions in collaboration and alliance with U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism and pro-American fascist regimes.

The Albanian people, "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes in conclusion, have always been side by side the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people and have backed up with all their forces and to the end their just struggle against the imperialist and colonialist aggressors, as well as against the Chinese social-imperialist aggressors to safeguard the freedom of their homeland. In this memorable day of the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of the D.R. of Vietnam, the Albanian people, rejoicing over the victories of the Vietnamese people, extend to them cordial greetings and wish them fresh successes in the work for the reconstruction and prosperity of their homeland. At the same time they wish that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries develop constantly.

INCREASE OF STUDENTS FOR 1981-82 SCHOOL YEAR

AU011848 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] Tirana, 1 Sep (ATA)--The new school year 1981-1982 began today in Albania in all the categories of schools with and without abandoning work.

More than 700,000 pupils will sit in the benches of schools this year, of whom 63,000 are pupils of the first class of the lower cycle of 8-grade schools. Great will be also the number of pre-school children who will go to kindergartens. From 100,000 children of this age, 66,500 are in the countryside. About 80 new kindergartens will open their doors for the first time for the children of this age.

Some 48 new secondary and 8-grade schools, of which 45 in villages, will open their doors for the first time as well. Among them, 10 will be full time agricultural secondary schools in Berat, Dibra, Jushnja, Kukes, Skrapar, Librazhd and other districts.

In order to meet better the needs of economy for middle specialists and qualified workers, the middle schools will train specialists in other new profiles.

Apart from this, special care was taken this year to prepare text books. For 1981-1982 school year there were published among the others over 270 text books for the 8-grade and secondary schools, many of which are new text books. Likewise, in order to provide the school with the necessary material and didactic basis, the "Hamit Shijaku" enterprise of educational, cultural and sports devices in Tirana will turn out 145 new articles, the largest part of which have been distributed.

Vast prospects are opened to the Albanian school during the years of the 7th Five Year Plan. The number of pupils in the part time middle schools in 1985 as against 1980 will increase by about 44 percent, while in the higher schools the number of students in 1985 as against 1980 will increase by about 24 percent.

Today, the newspapers frontpage the greeting the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami extends to the pupils, students, teachers and parents on occasion of the beginning of the new school year.

## BRIEFS

PRESS DAY MEETING--The Albanian Union of Journalists organized a meeting on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the first edition of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in the reception hall of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union in Tirana. Taking part were journalists of various press organs, radio-television, publishers, correspondents and others. Pipi Mitrojorgji, president of the Albanian Union of Journalists and chief editor of ZERI I POPULLIT, opened the meeting. Mehmet Karakushi, AWP Central Committee member spoke on the occasion. He spoke on the history of ZERI I POPULLIT and the duties of journalists to reflect the great achievements of workers and to help in building socialism. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 81 AU]

TURKISH DELEGATION'S VISIT--Tirana, 25 Aug (ATA)--A delegation of the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul, headed by Nedjat Basmadji, member of its presidency and chairman of Bursa and Istanbul, paid a visit to our country these days. The delegation had talks with leading cadres of the Chamber of Commerce of the P.S.R. of Albania and paid visits to work and production centers and cultural institutions of the cities of Tirana and Durres. Upon its stay in our country, the delegation of the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul was received by the Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha, who had a friendly talk with the delegation. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, Metin O. Karaca. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 25 Aug 81 AU]

PUBLICATION OF AWP HISTORY--The second edition of the History of the AWP, prepared by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies by decision of the AWP Central Committee, has come off the presses. The history deals with the party's activity up to 1980. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 29 Aug 81 AU]

## ZHIVKOV BIRTHDAY CELEBRATED AT 'FESTIVE MEETING'

AU021705 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Summary] A festive meeting was held at the revolutionary museum of the Sofia Dimitrov Rayon tonight. An exhibition about the "past and present of Dimitrov Rayon" was specially devoted to Comrade Todor Zhivkov's forthcoming 70th birthday. Army Gen Ivan Mikhaylov and numerous veterans of the partisan movement and antifascist struggle, as well as former comrades in arms of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and leaders of mass organizations were present at the celebration.

Maryika Ilieva, director of the museum, dwelt on "Comrade Todor Zhivkov's revolutionary development directly linked to the revolutionary cause of the people." She also told about Comrade Zhivkov's 10 years as National Assembly deputy of Dimitrov Rayon and his contribution to the economic and social development of his rayon.

### Other Events

AU022022 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Summary] "Within a few days, Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, will celebrate his 70th birthday." A festive meeting was held at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences at which academician Dimitur Kotsev spoke about Comrade Todor Zhivkov's "tremendous" contribution to the development and successes of our socialist science.

A photographic exhibition on Todor Zhivkov's life and activities opened in Sliven Okrug showing his cordial meetings with workers, farmers, young people, and members of the intelligentsia in Sliven Okrug.

A festive meeting was held at the Slavonic Committee where Bulgarians from abroad listened "with great interest" to the lecture read by Bistra Avramova, deputy chairman of the committee, on Todor Zhivkov's contribution to the development of the BCP and to the struggle against fascism and capitalism, as well as in "building the socialist society in Bulgaria."

The 37th Fatherland Front section in Sofia organized a meeting at which Angel Shishkov, deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, spoke on the "life of a revolutionary at the service of his party and people, about the ardent fighter for peace--Todor Zhivkov." Another celebration was organized by the National Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, and by the editorial boards of the periodicals PARTION ZHIVOT and POLITICHESKA AGITATISYA. At this meeting the poet and former partisan Veselin Andreev emotionally told about Comrade Todor Zhivkov's work, under the cover name of "Yanko", in the partisan movement, as well as about Todor Zhivkov's participation in the struggle of the legendary "Chavdar" partisan detachment.

Festive meetings on the occasion of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's 70th birthday also took place at the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Communications, and in the Sofia Kirkov Rayon.

The union of scientific workers in Bulgaria also held a festive meeting on the occasion at which academician Kiril Bratanov, chairman of the union, spoke "on Comrade Todor Zhivkov's share in the development of Bulgarian science." Meetings, celebrations and festive events on the occasion were also held in plants, enterprises, institutions and numerous towns and villages of the country.

## MEETING MARKS LIBYAN DAY; U.S. CRITICIZED

AU022010 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Sep (BTA)--The Bulgarian public has once again protested resolutely against the U.S. provocative acts against the Socialist Libyan People's Arab Jamahiriyah.

The participants in the solemn meeting held in the capital on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Libyan revolution of September 1 adopted a protest resolution against the moves of the American Navy in the Gulf of Sidra. This terroristic act, the declaration reads in part, has been carried out in contradiction to the international norms. It is another proof of the aggressive intentions of the American imperialism aimed against the independence and the sovereignty of the Libyan Jamahiriyah and against the road toward progressive socio-economic reforms chosen by the people.

The resolution also condemns President Reagan's decision to produce the neutron weapon, which is a threat to world peace and increased [words indistinct] of a new world war.

JOINT TALKS WITH SWEDEN HELD IN SOFIA 2 SEP

AU022016 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Sep (BTA)--A Swedish delegation led by Mr Nils Asling, minister of industry, was on a three day visit here. Leaders of the Swedish biggest industrial firms were included as members of the delegation. At the talks the Swedish guests had with Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council, questions related to "the further development of the two countries' economic and techno-scientific cooperation and especially those [words indistinct] the possibilities [words indistinct].

Mr Nils Asling had also talks with Mr Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Science and Technical Progress State Committee, at whose invitation Mr Asling is visiting our country. It was stated that in result of the previous cooperation of the Bulgarian and the Swedish specialists a number of developments for spelling the beginning of joint production have been worked out.

During the visit the Swedish delegation met also leaders of other Bulgarian economic ministries and foreign trade organisations. The possibilities for activating the contacts, in robot-making, electrical engineering, ship-building, metallurgy and forestry were discussed.

Today, before the departure of the delegation, Minister Nils Asling said "the possibilities exist for active cooperation in electrical engineering, the chemical industry, the cellulose paper industry between Bulgaria and Sweden--irrespective of their being small countries.

As the same goal we are after, the manufacture of goods of high quality and the use of modern technologies, this cooperation will be profitable.

We agreed with the Bulgarian leaders to launch joint techno-scientific initiatives--symposia and seminars in the field of metallurgy and food industry, in exploring the sea shelf."

BRIEFS

DZHUROV AT MILITARY GRADUATION--On 29 August in Shumen a ceremony took place marking the graduation of the Georgi Sava Rakovski Military Academy senior class. The ceremony was attended by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense; Ivan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee and State Council member; Col Gen Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee military-administrative department head; Col Georgi Ivanov, the first Bulgarian cosmonaut, and others. Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact member countries allied armed forces to the Bulgarian People's Army, also attended. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 81 AU]

MINISTRY, DAILY RESPOND TO AGGRESSION IN ANGOLA

Foreign Ministry Declaration

AU021106 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Resolute Condemnation of the Armed Attack by the Republic of South Africa: Declaration of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)--The declaration of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the aggression of the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola:

The Czechoslovak people and the CSSR Government are deeply alarmed at, and indignant about, another armed attack by South African racists against the People's Republic of Angola. The aggressive and barbaric attack by the Republic of South Africa against this independent and sovereign state, carried out with the support of the most reactionary forces of world imperialism, is a gross violation of the independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and sharply contravenes the UN Charter, as well as the basic norms of international law. It leads not only to increasing tension in the area of southern Africa, but is also a serious threat to world peace. The barbaric actions of the Republic of South Africa against the Angolan people, aimed at frustrating the progressive development of the People's Republic of Angola and at liquidating the achievements achieved in recent years by the Angolan people, are being dictated by the interests of the racist reaction in the Republic of South Africa to halt the efforts of the peoples in this area to win Namibia's independence and achieve a total decolonialization in southern Africa.

The blame for the aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa is shared by American imperialism, which is encouraging the South African racists and enabling them, by economic and open military support, to carry out such barbaric attacks, which cannot be qualified other than as international terrorism, raised to the level of official state policy.

The CSSR, which has been linked to the People's Republic of Angola by friendly international ties for many years, resolutely condemns the escalation of aggressive actions by the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, and resolutely demands the immediate cessation of the aggression and the withdrawal of all military units of the Republic of South Africa from Angolan territory. The peoples of the CSSR express full solidarity with the heroic fight of the Angolan people and their army against the South African racists.

The CSSR joins the wave of protests by the world public against the aggression of the Republic of South Africa and is of the opinion that the UN Security Council must not only condemn this act, but must also adopt effective measures against the aggressor.

GDR Not 'Meddling'

AU021202 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 81 p 7

[Commentary by Petr Vana in the column "Note": "The Language of Slander"]

[Text] The GDR is Meddling in the affairs of other countries, the FRG radio station "Deutschlandfunk" claims in the language of slander. What is it all about? The fact is that this weekend a special GDR plane landed in the Angolan capital, Luanda, with a cargo of medical drugs and medical supplies for Angola, and also for the Namibian patriots. Such reports have already become an everyday matter in Berlin. They come from Nicaragua, from other Latin American countries, as well as from Africa and Asia. They are the expression of humaneness and of the socialist policy which supports efforts for independence and free development. It is a kind of activity which is internationally recognized even by the United Nations. What hypocrisy is thus concealed in the malice put out on the air by the West German radio station, when it called the solidarity assistance "meddling"?

There are circles in the FRG, but also in the United States and other capitalist countries, which are disturbed by the national liberation movements and by the developing states enjoying the secure support of socialist states, as well as of the powerful international progressive movement.

The GDR is really interfering, through its assistance, in the course of affairs planned by the Western monopolies and their governments. It is interfering by helping, through cooperation based on equal rights, to build up the economies of developing countries, or else by having let up to 50,000 citizens of young states acquire professional, as well as university-level, education in the GDR during the last 10 years. Or even by sending books, school aids, medical drugs and other material to various countries: Since 1970 their worth has risen to amount M1.5 billion. Such assistance is making it possible to achieve not only political, but also economic independence. It is helping overcome the unpropitious legacy of colonialism and is crossing the predatory plans of big capital.

Thus the GDR is meddling, with bandages and injections, in the brutal aggression conducted by the racists solely as a result of the attitude taken by the United States and other Western powers. Such a proud confession of "meddling" on the side of humaneness, of the oppressed and assassinated, cannot be slandered even by the poisonous stand of the Deutschlandfunk. It clearly reveals who is standing on the side of the defenders of the right to life and freedom; and, on the other hand, who is making terror and crime possible.

## 1981 TRADE PROTOCOL WITH POLAND SIGNED IN PRAGUE

LD022255 Prague CTK in English 1722 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 2 Sep (CETEKA)--The 1981 protocol on Polish-Czechoslovak trade envisages a trade volume of 1,470 million roubles. Despite the increasing difficulties in the Polish economy, contractual obligations are being fulfilled on both sides, commercial counsellor the Polish Embassy here Stanislaw Mrowczyk said on Tuesday.

Czechoslovakia is Poland's third biggest trade partner after the USSR and the German Democratic Republic and Poland holds the third place in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade. Last year's volume of Polish-Czechoslovak trade exceeded 1,500 million roubles.

As agreed, Poland will deliver 1.2 million tonnes of coal to Czechoslovakia this year (as against 2.2 million tonnes annually in the 1976-80 period) and will also keep to its obligations in sulphur deliveries. It will also supply Czechoslovakia with clothing, knitwear, furniture, electronic devices [words indistinct] utensils and 3,000 Polski Fiat 126 P cars. At present, there are 9,000 Polish construction workers working in Czechoslovakia. The biggest project they are building is the thermal power plant at Prunerov, north Bohemia, which will have an output of 1,050 mw.

Czechoslovak exports to Poland comprise kaolin, magnesite, steel casts and cast-iron, newsprint, chemical fibres and consumer goods.

This year, Czechoslovakia will deliver to Poland 15,000 automatic washing-machines, 8,000 Skoda Cars, vacuum cleaners, leather footwear, carpets and other products. Stanislaw Mrowsczyk appreciated Czechoslovakia's aid to the Polish economy, pointing out that apart from contracted goods, Czechoslovakia supplied Poland with poultry, children's clothing and other products for children.

The current export offer of the Polish engineering industry will be on display at the International Engineering Trade Fair in Brno on September 9-16. Stanislaw Mrowczyk stressed that in the present difficult economic situation, cooperation with countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is of great importance to Poland.

What is in particular necessary is faster development of cooperation in production, he added.

SOLIDARITY'S BUJAK DELIVERS ANTISTATE SPEECH

LD022208 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum chaired by Stanislaw Kania, opened in Warsaw today. Main attention is being paid to solving the most serious economic problems now experienced by Poland.

In connection with the congress of Walesa's trade unions, which is to start this Saturday, reports from Warsaw note the leadership of the so-called Solidarity and other anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary forces in Poland are stepping up their provocative attacks against state power and the PZPR.

Zbigniew Bujak, speaking in the Hybrydy Discussion Club in Warsaw, openly delivered a counterrevolutionary address. He is chairman of Mazowsze Solidarity and Presidium member of the all-state coordinating commission of Walesa's trade unions. In line with the aim of forging anticommunist centers, Bujak paid attention to the question of the mass media, above all to the endeavors of the so-called Solidarity to dominate radio and television. He said that in this matter a life-and-death struggle was to be expected. The real aim is to limit and silence the party's voice in the means of information having the greatest mass impact, and to have a free hand in antistate, antiparty and anti-Soviet propaganda, demagogy and the most insolent slanders. Bujak said: To hold a monopoly in the sphere of information is one of our foremost tasks.

Connected with this is the question of the further development of the so-called Solidarity which, as is known, is above all a political and antistate--not trade union--organization. According to the ideas of the counterrevolutionary wing of Solidarity--ideas expressed by Bujak--this organization is to continue following these lines. This was confirmed by the very character of the discussion, which was dealing with purely political problems and with antistate tactics and strategy. All trade union questions which the participants in the discussion tried to discuss were brushed aside by Bujak with meaningless cliches or else the participants were silenced with booing.

Everything Bujak said referred to a ruthless power struggle, although Bujak himself says with unparalled hypocrisy that Solidarity is not a force fighting for power. The foolishness of this statement was pointed out by one of the participants in the discussion, who said: If Solidarity dominate television and radio then it will have genuine power in the country.

If we add to these plans and goals mentioned by Bujak in Warsaw the other main tasks of Walesa's trade unions, that is, the struggle for self-management in enterprises where Solidarity would be in control, the drive to win the elections to the national councils, and the frontal attack on the judiciary, then the picture of the counterrevolution in Poland assumes a concrete shape: to escalate confrontation to the maximum with the aim of the final liquidation of socialism in the country. Bujak leaves no one in doubt about this.

LEADERS, DAILY RESPOND TO IRANIAN DEATHS

Condolences Sent to Iran

AU021116 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)--CSSR President Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal, premier of the federal government, this Monday sent the Presidential Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran a telegram of condolences in connection with the tragic demise of President Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i and Prime Minister Ayatollah Javad Bahonar.

Bratislava PRAVDA Comments

AU021437 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Sep 81 p 7

[Julius P. Loerincz commentary in the "A Word on The Events" column: "The Iranian Drama"]

[Text] Alarming reports about acts of brutal terrorism against people close to Imam Khomeyni, against advocates of antimonarchical and anti-imperialist revolutionary reforms, have lately been coming out of Iran every day, but the news of yesterday morning is downright shocking--both the president and prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran fell victim to an assassination. The June explosion in the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party, which claimed the life of Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti--one of the most distinguished figures of contemporary Iran--as well as those of several parliamentary deputies and other politicians, was described as perhaps the most stupendous mass murder of politicians in the second half of the 20th centruy. This time there will again be an opportunity to invent and contrive adjectives, to come up with all kinds of statistical data about the number and the methods of the attempts on statemen's lives, and so forth.

However, let us leave statistics aside and let us have at least a fleeting look at the Iranian drama as it is developing before our eyes. Following the forced departure of former President Bani-Sadr, who was rightly regarded in Tehran as a man attempting to preserve by new means Iran's orientation toward the West, from his post, the internal tension in the country has grown even worse. The liberal bourgeois circles, which saw in Bani-Sadr a guarantee that the revolutionary transformations would remain within tolerable limits for the bourgeoisie, have obviously intensified their support for right-wing and extreme leftwing opponents of the present regime, a regime in which the Muslim clergy and the Islamic Republican Party play the leading role. However, even those political subjects cannot be regarded as homogeneous. Noureddin Kianouri, secretary general of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), for example, distinguishes among three groups of the clergy: a reactionary, a realistic and a revolutionary one. There is no doubt that the political destabilization is massively fostered by imperialist subversive centers, which have not become reconciled to the change in the strategic situation in the Middle East, to their disadvantage, brought about by the fall of the Shah's regime and are trying to stifle from within the revolutionary development in Iran (next to military, political and economic pressure from the outside).

One of the reasons for the increasingly frequent questions expressing puzzlement over the further development in Iran is the fact that many problems inherited by the country from the Shah's pro-American monarchy--concerning, for example, the economy or the position of individual ethnic groups--remain unresolved, and the country's leading political forces have not even had time to map out concrete ways of dealing with them. The war against Iraq represents a considerable burden. Moreover, the increasing number of death sentences and subsequent executions--not always of terrorists but frequently also of people who had been fellow combatants against monarchist dictatorship--cannot enhance stability. At the same time, it is known that the state administration and even the police corps have not yet been completely cleansed of the followers of the former regime, who--together with former members or collaborators of the secret police Savak and agents of the American CIA--constitute the infamous counterrevolutionary "fifth column" that is not idly waiting for its opportunity.

The Iranian drama of searching for the country's new image has thus not ended yet and is not immune to tragic chapters.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA CONDEMNED

Foreign Minister Fischer

LD022238 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1632 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Sep (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today strongly condemned the brutal escalation of aggression against Angola which, he said, was a fresh example of the antipeace, racist nature of the apartheid regime. He said this during a talk with Ambassador Gbeho, chairman of the UN Seminar on the Publicity and Role of the Mass Media in Mobilizing National Opinion Against Apartheid, and head of the delegation of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid; and E.S. Reddy, director of the UN Center Against Apartheid.

Minister Fischer stressed that the GDR felt linked by ties of solidarity with the Angolan people in the defense of its independence and sovereignty and in the repulsion of intervention. He supported the demands contained in the declaration of the participants in the seminar that South Africa should be condemned as an aggressor, that the South African forces should be withdrawn from Angola immediately and unconditionally, and that Angola should be compensated for the damage inflicted upon it.

Fischer emphasized that in view of the policy of confrontation and armament of the most aggressive imperialist forces, efforts must be increased to safeguard world peace, continue the dialogue and international cooperation.

In the course of the friendly meeting, Fischer paid tribute to the work of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in support of the efforts of the South African people to remove the inhuman apartheid regime. He gave an assurance of unshakable solidarity with the struggle of the South African and Namibian patriots for national and social liberation.

The guests expressed their appreciation of the GDR's consistent solidarity. They voiced their thanks for the GDR's help in preparing and holding the seminar and gave an account of its successful completion. They stressed the need for further publicity by the mass media on the implementation of the UN resolution on Namibia and of sanctions against the South African racist regime. They condemned the assistance of imperialist mass media to Pretoria.

Angolan Minister da Silva

LD021329 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1038 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Excerpts] Berlin, 2 Sep (ADN)--The international seminar on the role of the mass media in the struggle against apartheid entered its third and final day in Berlin today.

Discussions are focusing on new activities to increase the world public's knowledge of the character and policy of the South African racist regime and on further publicizing anti-apartheid organizations.

Angolan Minister of Labor Horacio Pereira Braz da Silva appealed to all governments, peoples and states of the world to take vigorous and effective action to stop the South African aggressors' murderous campaign in southern Angola. In a greetings address to the approximately 100 participants in the UN antiapartheid seminar, the Angolan politician attacked the rulers in Pretoria for initiating a bloodbath among the civilian population of his country.

"The aim of the racists' attacks is to disrupt the course of socialist development undertaken by our people," the minister stressed. The minister described the U.S. veto in the UN Security Council on denouncing the racists as a gross violation of international law. He urgently warned of the dangerous consequences the invasion by the racists, who use unlawfully occupied Namibia as their springboard, has for peace and security in the world. To stormy applause by those present, the minister affirmed his people's determination to resist resolutely the machinations of the apartheid regime and its imperialist backers.

ERICH HONECKER COMMENTS ON DIALOGUE WITH FRG

AU011627 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] Berlin (ADN)-- The American news agency AP states that SED General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker expects a positive development of the German-German dialogue at the highest level. According to an ADN report, Honecker announced that he will soon answer a letter from FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. ADN repeated statements in the Mexican press, whose representatives had interviewed Honecker before his imminent visit to Mexico.

According to the newspaper EL SOL DE MEXICO, which had asked Honecker about the German-German relationship, Honecker said: "Recently I received a letter from FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Having conducted various talks, I propose to answer this letter in the next few days. In my view this correspondence will contribute to strengthening the dialogue between the two countries in the interest of consolidating peace and cooperation between them."

According to Honecker's view the relations between the GDR and the FRG are "on the whole developing well on the basis of coexistence and the treaties signed by both countries." There are still a number of unresolved problems and efforts are being made to overcome them, ADN states about the Mexican reports.

AP continues: In July, the FRG Government had again offered the GDR talks without preconditions. They were to deal with the whole complex of German-German relations. Egon Franke, minister of inner-German relations, had said that the FRG Government sees no reason "to give up the principles in the relationship with the GDR, which until today have determined the German policy, started at the beginning of the 1970's."

In Bonn the hope remained, AP writes, that the long planned meeting between the chancellor and Honecker could probably come about after a visit of the Soviet state and party head Leonid Brezhnev to Bonn. The date for Brezhnev's visit, set for the end of November or beginning of December, has not yet been fixed.

FRG CITIZEN SENTENCED FOR MILITARY ESPIONAGE

LD021500 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1312 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Sep (ADN)--The Berlin higher military court today sentenced Harald Kleinert, a citizen of the FRG from Hamburg, to 12 years' deprivation of liberty under paragraph 98 of the GDR Criminal Code for many years of espionage against the GDR. As an agent recruited and paid by an FRG secret service, Kleinert carried out extensive instructions while engaging in military espionage. Kleinert, a former member of the Bundeswehr, surveyed the security system on the GDR state frontier and handed over to the FRG secret service documents necessary for travel to the GDR. The spy, who was known at the secret service headquarters by the code name "Stress," participated in over 33 meetings during which he received instructions and made reports.

It was proved during the trial that Kleinert's espionage activity was aimed at preparing further subversive actions by NATO secret services against the GDR. The car used for the crime, registration number HH-LZ 1235, was impounded.

HONECKER RECEIVES CREDENTIALS OF UK ENVOY

LD311118 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1039 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin 31 Aug (ADN)--Erich Honecker, the secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received the British ambassador in the GDR, Peter Maxey, to accept his letter of credence. Ambassador Maxey conveyed friendly greetings from Queen Elizabeth II and Erich Honecker reciprocated in the same way.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the results of the relations between the two states and emphasized the GDR's readiness to further develop cooperation with Britain in all spheres, for the benefit of both sides. This would contribute to the alleviation of the political climate and the safeguarding of peace.

The ambassador emphasized his country's interest in peace and declared himself in favor of further developing relations between the GDR and Great Britain.

EGON KRENZ ADDRESSES STUDENTS' FORUM IN BERLIN

LD020306 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2200 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] The first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, Egon Krenz, today described the overall strengthening and secure protection of the GDR as an important contribution in the struggle for world peace. He said that socialism combines the active protection of peace with social security and a sense of belonging at a time when imperialist politicians want to force through their arms drive plans against the real social interests of the peoples. Youth in the Western countries are particularly affected by the results of the crisis.

Egon Krenz was speaking at a forum in Berlin at the conclusion of this year's student summer. He praised their commitment and the good economic results which testify to the determination of young students to achieve high performances in the 10th FDJ Congress drive.

BRIEFS

HARVEST STATUS REPORT--As of the weekend, 97.2 percent of the grain acreage in the GDR has been harvested. Mowing is concentrated now in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Erfurt and Suhl bezirke. In the lowlands, where grain harvesting is already completed, the necessary follow-up work and harvesting of potatoes have already been started. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1749 GMT 31 Aug 81 DW]

SPORTS PROTOCOL WITH CUBA--The GDR and Cuba have agreed on a protocol providing for cooperation in the sports sector for 1982. It provides for participation in major sports events in both countries and the exchange of coaches and experts. The president of the German Gymnastics and Sports Association, Manfred Ewald, and the president of the National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation of Cuba, Carlos Galvan Vila, had earlier held discussions in Berlin on preparations for the 11th Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden. The Cuban visitor has meanwhile ended his visit to the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 31 Aug 81 LD]

LOSONCZI, SARLOS GREET RESISTANCE FEDERATION

LD021636 Budapest MTI in English 0619 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Excerpt] Budapest 1 Sep (MTI)--A jubilary session devoted to the 30th anniversary of the International Federation of Resistance Movements (IFRM) was held in Budapest Tuesday. Istvan Tompe, vice-president of the Hungarian Partisan Federation, welcomed the representatives of 65 organizations of 22 countries. Istvan Tompe read out the letter addressed to the session by President Pal Losonczi of the Hungarian Presidential Council.

The letter says: "To dissolve international tensions, promote cooperation among states and stop the arms race imposing increasingly heavy burdens are in the vital interest of our people and all peoples of Europe and the world. Our country, along with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, will continue to work, as it did in the past, to safeguard the fruits of detente and prevent a fresh wave of armament. Our people, too, welcomed the comprehensive peace programme, adopted at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which we believe may offer a realistic basis for talks between opposed military blocs, as well as between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. In our view, negotiations should be the principal means of international politics in the case of every moot question, granting equal security for all sides on a lower level of armaments.

"We Hungarians pay great attention to the activity of the International Federation of Resistance Movements. Your federation has always stood consistently for the cause of peace, security, cooperation among the peoples, international detente, and against the arms race, renewed militarism and neo-Nazism. In our days when forces interested in heightening tensions have picked up momentum and certain imperialist circles seek to gain military supremacy by escalating the arms race, special importance attaches to your voice of protest against the heightened arms race, against any political and military move which imperils the security of our continent and the rest of the world.

"I am convinced that the International Federation of Resistance Movements, which enjoys the sympathy and support of the peace-loving Hungarian people, will continue to do everything in its power to preserve peace," ends the letter of Pal Losonczi.

Then Istvan Sarlos, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, secretary-general of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, greeted those present on behalf of the HSWP Central Committee.

"The onetime partisans and liberty fighters," he said, "may justly proud themselves in the 36 years of peace in Europe, which is partly due to their joint anti-fascist action. The world wants peace, but not everyone has yet understood what the onetime fighters see clearly: the need to prevent any form of neo-fascism, to make the governments and politicians also accept respect for other peoples' interests as a basic principle of their activities, and to work to halt the arms race.

"Today we live in a critical situation. The world faces a many-sided danger of a new armed conflict. We Hungarians believe that every disputed issue can be settled beside the conference table. We believe that the people's love for life and desire for peace shall triumph over violence. For this reason, we uphold the policy of detente, peaceful coexistence and non-interference everywhere in the world. This is why we denounce, supported fully by our people, the missile plantation and neutron bomb production schemes of the Reagan administation. This is why we call for starting negotiations on the most pressing world affairs.

"The fact that Hungary belongs to the socialist world links us to a system of alliance which is guarantee that we have and shall always have friends in good and bad times alike. We regard friendship as a sacred thing which may help both individuals and peoples to get through difficulties. We offer such a friendship to every people and every political or social force which is ready to work together for peace, freedom and welfare."

REPORTAGE ON THIRD PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Glowczyk Report

LD021848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Report by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, to Third Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw 2 Sep--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed lady and gentlemen comrades! The aim of the Third Central Committee Plenum is to determine the tasks of the party echelons and organizations in creating the political, legal and economic conditions for the introduction of the economic reform and of the principles of self-government of workforces in socialist enterprises. In accordance with the resolution of the ninth extraordinary party congress, the carrying out of reform is the fundamental premise of the effective implementation of the program for ending the crisis and creating the basis for Poland's social and economic development. Reform must agree with the fundamental assumptions of the socialist politicoeconomic system, which means that the solutions adopted within its framework must favor strengthening social control of the means of production; development of production in order to satisfy the social demands in an economical manner; linking the economic interests of individuals, groups and social classes with the general national interest in accordance with the aims of the socioeconomic plans; guaranteed equal opportunities for all working people by observing the division of the results of production according to the amount and quality of work.

Today we are deciding matters that are decisive for the immediate future in leading the country out of the crisis and which at the same time have a long-term significance for socialist construction in our country. We must reach solutions which will not be detached from the realities of an infinitely complicated economic situation or from the political struggle. These solutions will at the same time represent a lasting basis for the link between the party and the working class and for the full participation of working people in the management of the state and in the running of the economy. The most urgent task is to bring to a halt the catastrophic drop in production and to put a stop to the anarchy in our social life. These apparently different phenomena are closely linked; in essence, they represent a single problem. The drop in production and the subsequent deterioration in supplies arouse understandable dissatisfaction, which is often exploited for the organization of street demonstrations, protest marches and strikes, set in motion with the aid of demagogic slogans claiming that warehouses are full, or that the government wants to starve the nation. This of ocurse causes further calculable production losses, but the indirect losses are even greater and cannot be enumerated. How can one work and organize work rationally in a stituation of endless tensions and conflicts, sit-ins and warning strikes such as are taking place the moment and perpetually being proclaimed? It obviously has a paralyzing effect on production. One cannot think of overcoming the difficulties in such a situation.

The antisocialist opposition is conducting a ruthless and merciless struggle calculated to break up the socialist system in our country by destroying the economy. It thus blocks every positive action, yet fails to present any program for getting out of the crisis, apart from the program of negation. The real program motivating the opposition can be briefly defined; the worse, the better.

The party will not depart from the line of agreement with the working class, with the community, with the nation. We will not depart from this line, neither left nor right. But the line of agreement is not and will not be one of compromise with opponents of the socialist system who violate the legal order and precepts of the Constitution, who expose the nation's destiny to a dangerous test.

We support the national unity of Poles. We support the Polish raison d'etat, the inviolability of the precepts of the system and the alliances with the socialist community, which, combined with the internal might of the nation, provide a guarantee of Poland's sovereignty and inviolability of its frontiers.

One can read in the press that some Solidarity activists state that they regard their union as an opposition sociopolitical movement. However, the majority of the Solidarity members continue to regard this union as a trade union. Therefore they should not be blamed for views and actions of some activists.

One would hope that the millions-strong mass of workers will direct the development of Solidarity once more toward the declarations contained in the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements, which define the nature of the new trade unions: that is, the observance of the precepts of our country's system, the observance of international alliances and the observance of the leading role of the PZPR in the state.

The decision by many workforces to work on some free Saturdays this year, in conformity with the Solidarity appeal, constitutes a good start for widening the constructive activity of the whole union, and augurs well that the sound union trend will find its expression in the resolutions of the forthcoming Solidarity congress.

Esteemed comrades. The present economic situation is still characterized by unfavorable phenomena. There is a reduction in the scale of material production: by about 15 percent in industry and by about 20 percent in construction. A particularly large drop has occurred in the production of raw materials, coal, copper, zinc and lead. The drop in the production of raw materials, as is known, restricts the level of production in the processing industry, causes a restriction of exports and consequently of the possibilities for imports. For instance, a reduction in the export of coal to capitalist countries causes a loss of foreign currency totalling over $700 million. Unfortunately the disorganized domestic market continues as a result of the 20-percent growth in the population's income coupled with the fall in the supplies of market goods, above all, of food. In comparison with last year, there are also signs of links between industry and agriculture being severed as a result of a shortage of goods in the rural market. This is reflected in the fall of the procurement of agricultural produce which has resulted despite a considerable rise in the procurement prices during the second quarter of this year.

All these phenomena have led to an underutilization of present production capabilities by 25 percent, and a rise in the production costs. The rise in production costs and a reduction in material production has caused the total gross national product to fall by 16-18 percent. A matter of greatest priority in this situation is to determine the so-called protected economic zone, that is, looking after the elementary needs. Several fundamental objectives which decide the well-being of the nation which include the provision of food, health services, means of personal hygiene, basic articles for children and young people, fuels and energy and [word indistinct]. The community demands [word indistinct] on the part of the state over the implementation of those objectives and expects the government to effectively direct economic activity in particular in those areas. The direction of economic activity must therefore at present be aimed at attaining those most important social objectives.

In connection with this, special programs of [word indistinct] have been compiled. Basic production tasks for enterprises will be set out in these programs. These tasks, it must be emphasized, will be the duties of the enterprises. Today the most important problem for enterprises is the supply of materials. That is why the basic raw materials and supplies will be directed toward definite production goals. This will pertain, mainly, to such raw materials as coal, coke, liquid fuels, timber and tires. Hard currency for imports will also be made available centrally--their shortage is even greater than that of raw materials and supplies. The special action programs will constitute, next year, an obligatory part of the entire economic plan in the country.

Outlays on central investment projects, on socialized housing construction, on investments in social and cultural spheres will also become an obligatory part of the plan.

In connection with this, enterprises should be systematically informed--directly from the central level--on the development of the country's economic situation, about tendencies that arise, difficulties and problems. This information should be given in such a way that enterprises will be able to use it for developing and adapting their own economic plans. Central economic bodies should, therefore, arrange for a special system to convey economic information to enterprises, beginning with major production enterprises for which a system of this kind will be made operational as early as this month.

Esteemed comrades, it is difficult to imagine what our economic situation would be like, what the production and national income decline would be like, without the supplies of raw materials and credits from fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular.

Polish imports from our partners, especially from the Soviet Union, have been taking place in 1981 without any great disruptions despite export delays and the partial nonfulfillment of agreements by ourselves. We are grateful to the Soviet comrades for this assistance and for understanding.

Despite the enormous difficulties we are having to cope with, we will make every effort to fulfill our agreements better next year even though it will be difficult for us to reach the size of deliveries which have traditionally been part of the trade exchange with the socialist countries. We attach tremendous importance to the participation in the program of socialist economic integration. In this program we see an opportunity which makes it easier for us to find a way out of the crisis and to achieve the stabilization of the economy. We have presented proposals to the socialist countries on the joint management of production capacities that have not been exploited because of shortcomings in supplies and also proposals on the joint completion of part of the investment projects. This matter occupied an important place in the recent talks between Comrade Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier; and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Crimea.

Opportunities for improving the economy also arise in connection with the good harvest this year. We can have more grain products, more sugar and vegetables and fruit. Better foundations are also being laid for the development of animal husbandry next year. In order to take advantage of these opportunities it is necessary to transform the program of the ninth congress into organized and energetic activities. In the resolution of the ninth extraordinary congress, the Central Committee and all party organizations and echelons have been obliged to develop explanatory-educational work and to consistently implement economic reform.

In the economic reform we can see an important factor for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy, restoring economic equilibrium and improving the effectiveness of management. The realization of the reforms will constitute an essential step forward along the road of the development of socialist social relations in our country. The reform signifies a fundamental change in the function of enterprises in the economic structure and especially in the role of direct producers and of workforces in the development of economic processes.

Thus, the reform is an issue that affects the entire community, every worker and citizen. What do we want to achieve by introducing reform?

In the first place, we want the new economic mechanism to create effective stimulants for productive work, for embarking on economic activity in line with social needs, so that every citizen's work gives him satisfaction and gives the community advantages.

In the second place, we want to ensure fuller social participation and control over the molding of the general trends in the country's development and over the state's current socioeconomic policy. This will effectively prevent the danger of disregarding economic laws, something which has done so much harm in the past.

In the third place, we want to create wide possibilities for workers' participation in the management of factories and enterprises and in resolving problems both in the region and in the country as a whole. The directions the reform is taking have been subordinated to these objectives. The introduction of new economic mechanisms will make the worker's material situation more dependent on the effectiveness of the functioning of enterprises, especially on his personal work contribution, on his skill in using his means of work, on his qualifications and on his skillful use of his working hours.

The financial system in enterprises provides the workers with an economic motivation to improve the results of their economic activity. The accrued surplus acquired after the enterprise has met all expenses will be divided according to strictly defined norms between the state, the enterprise and the workforce.

Thus the precept--we can divide only what we produce--will be introduced also at the enterprise level.

However, striving for efficiency cannot be confined exclusively to the basic links in the economy, to the enterprises. It must embrace all links and levels of the economy. We well know the great social cost of planning errors [word indistinct] of license in making economic decisions. Thus we draw all the conclusions from the fundamental (?deficiencies) of the system used to direct the economy in the previous period. However, one cannot agree with those who urge that central planning be rejected. It was not the principle of central planning that caused the crisis in our economy. The basis of our country's catastrophic economic situation was the lack of a programmatic, strategic concept of development and the ignoring of the objecting economic laws.

The activity of the enterprises cannot be separated from the state's economic policy. Let us imagine, for example, the Polish chemical industry functioning in isolation from either foreign trade policy or cooperation within the CEMA framework. Who but the state can assure the appropriate conditions for the supply of basic raw materials to the country, supplies upon which the enterprises' activities are dependent. Defining the directions of development of particular enterprises must be closely connected with the state system of scientific research, which in many areas is decisive for the functioning of the economy. Investment decisions must be of a central nature and must take into account the needs of the entire economy, of the whole society.

It is not a matter here of a return to the old system, to the methods of management by command; it is a matter of creating mechanisms for the mutual interaction and cooperation of the central planning organs and the independent enterprises, cooperation which will be facilitated by considering the needs of the entire national economy when planning the development and production of the enterprises. At the same time, the independent enterprise's interests in the central economic plans should also be considered. Such a formula ought to be reflected in the bill on planning which is now being prepared, and in the bill on the economic system in enterprises.

In our situation a central plan should concentrate on strategic, key social objectives and on determining methods to regulate the economy designed to achieve these objectives under conditions of the enterprises being independent.

We have in mind here, first, the formulation of social objectives in conjunction with the precepts of the profit and prices policy and shaping consumption in individual social groups.

Second, the determination of the size of investments and deciding the direction of investments which is decisive for the long-term development of the country.

Third, cooperation abroad and foreign trade.

Fourth, precepts of the employment policy from the point of view of the development of the labor resources and the training of personnel for the future.

Fifth, a policy of acquiring raw materials from domestic resources and from abroad.

Sixth, precepts of the credit policy and the volume of money circulation.

And seventh, precepts of the town and country planning policy and protection of the environment.

Economic reform will simultaneously create institutional conditions for the socialization of plannig and managements. This consists first of all in a substantial increase in the role of representative organs: that is, above all, the Sejm; the People's Councils; the shaping of the plan; the ensuring of the participation of trade unions, social organizations and scientific centers; of the drafting of socioeconomic plans; of the creation of mechanisms for an efficient control over the work of the government and the entire state and an economic administration; of a legislative guarantee of access to the mass media for information dealing with the socioeconomic situation and on projects of the plan.

Thus we aim at socialization and not at a weakening of the part played by economic planning, planning which is a way to coordinate objectives and development trends in the economy with society. In the end, the nature of the reform to be carried out will be determined by the new position of the enterprise and the workers' self-government.

The ninth extraordinary congress voiced its unanimous support for the self-government of workforces and for the independence of enterprises as the fundamental link of the economy. This will essentially alter the situation in the workforces, and will increase the scope of their rights and responsibility for economic results. At the same time this principle raises important consequences in all spheres of the functioning of the economy by settling the issue of the direction of qualitative changes in organizational structures, of the elimination of intermediate levels, and also of the methods governing the activities of central organs in the state administration. The reconstruction of the organizational structure of the central level has begun. This is linked with fundamental changes in the function of ministries and the upshot of this is a considerable reduction in the size of the workforce in the central administration. We are beginning to debureaucratize the apparatus which steers the economy. What is needed is to continue the reductions and to codify the regulations more resolutely.

Beginning 1 January 1982 a new pricing system for fuels, energy and for raw and other materials will be introduced. Along with changes in the prices of raw and other materials, changes will be introduced in the prices of processed products. These will be prices (?according to) which enterprises and not the population get their supplies. The new prices should ensure the profitability of the production of fuels, energy, raw materials and other supplies.

A new system of incentives and budget-balancing is being introduced. From the money gained in the sale of output, the enterprise will have to cover the costs of raw and other materials and other material resources, will have to pay taxes and make payments to the state budget, and will have to allocate funds to finance investments, technical progress and to increase turnover. The remaining part of an enterprise's income will be used for wages, bonuses, prizes and social purposes in accordance with the independent decisions of the workforce.

The better organized, the more thrifty and more productive labor and production are, the greater will be the income that will remain for the direct disposal of the workforce.

The conditions for the full application of this mechanism will be present particularly in the extraction and agricultural foodstuff industries because the preparations for price reform have quite simply made the greatest progress there. In this connection, the remaining 4 months of this year should be used to make solid preparations and to test in a practical manner the system of prices, wages, balancing the budget and other instruments in such a way that beginning January 1982 it will have been possible, without wasting time, to get things moving and to begin activities based on the new principles. However, one must consider that certain enterprises, for example communal services or domestic trade enterprises, will not be in a position to immediately ensure for themselves income that is sufficient to cover expenditures.

In enterprises of this type, depending on their nature, subsidies from the budget or banks will be made for their activity in the transitional period. July this year small-scale manufacturing and state agricultural farms have been operating on new principles. Setting realistic retail prices for bread and cereal products makes it possible to introduce a new economic system in the cereal and milling industry and in the baking industry. We believe that an analysis should be made and all those sectors of the economy should be defined in which already proposed solutions and reforms can be applied.

The self-governments of enterprises will be faced from the outset with all those problems and difficulties which are now tormenting our whole economy. We are all counting on the fact that self-government and the self-financing of socialist enterprises will lead to more active efforts among workforces but we are realistically aware of the fact that this will not be done easily. Under any circumstances solid work is urgently needed. Real progress will be possible only when work becomes more productive than it is at present.

Self-governments of enterprises will face very serious problems over a sensible distribution of the accumulated revenue on wages and bonuses against pressing social and cultural needs. More support needs to be given to works construction. Worker self-governments will have to expect enormous pressure from workforces for subsidizing cooperative housing construction. Workers will be expecting, as now, help from works enterprises in individual construction; and it will be necessary to tackle these problems since they are the most vital needs of the people.

The state enterprise is a socialist economic organization which independently conducts production and services activity striving to achive high economic effectiveness and it does this on the principle of taking the responsibility for the whole of this activity. Its activities, as the draft law submitted before the Sejm says, should agree with the objectives of the national economy. Economic instruments and mechanisms will serve first and foremost to ensure this agreement. But the question must be asked whether this is sufficient. An independent enterprise will always have its own group objectives which do not have to correspond with national objectives.

It could happen this way. We fear that the community and the national economy will not avoid difficulties connected with the independence of enterprises. We must be aware of this. But this must not prevent a consistent implementation of the reform trend, a trend toward independence and self-government.

It is more imperative to apply such solutions which will minimize the dangers which we have dealt with a while ago. Such solutions will provide powerful guarantees for a proper merger of group interests with the general social interest and the economic policy of a socialist state. Self-government should be conducive to the discharge by the state of its obligations vis-a-vis the community.

The state has the duty to exploit rationally the national resources, to protect the natural environment. The state is responsible for the expansion and smooth functioning of the whole infrastructure, energy, the transportation network, telecommunication installations, etc. It is the state that must ensure conditions for the supply of basic means needed in life by the population: to regulate the shaping of retail prices.

The state organs are responsible for ensuring jobs, for satisfying the needs of the population as to services, health protection and social security. The state has the duty to create an effective system to defend the country. The task of the state is to speed up development and create for a long-term increase in production the expansion of domestic raw material production and the ensurance of deliveries from abroad.

The objective is to create, not infringing on the precepts of self-government in any way, conditions for the state to be able to discharge its constitutional duties.

Esteemed comrades, a most important issue is the role and method of appointing the enterprise manager. Our opinion is that the tasks of a manager in an enterprise should be matched by clearly-defined terms of reference and responsibility. The position of the manager is different when managing the enterprise and different when representing the enterprise outside. The manager should act in conformity with decisions of the whole workforce, take into consideration all its views and be controlled by the self-government.

On the other hand, however, a director should have the right to draw the attention of the self-government to certain things and even to stop a decision of the workforce council if he thinks that the fulfillment of the decision would lead to a considerable violation of the law or general social interests. This is a vital right which creates the foundation for the director to be able to fulfill his general social function. We are aware that it will not be easy for directors to avail themselves of this right today. However, this right must be applied particularly in the initial period following the introduction of the reforms because the aspiration of an enterprise to raise prices and to shy away from the production of less profitable but socially vital articles might become the way to achieve a large profit.

One must remember the fulfillment of these complex functions by a director when the principles governing the appointment of a director are formulated and when the question is asked whether the director should be appointed by a founding body of an enterprise--that is a supreme or local body of the state administration--or by a workforce council. It is difficult to assume that in every sector and in every period one can achieve harmony between the interests of the workforce and general social interests with the help of the already mentioned economic mechanisms. This is particularly important over the next few years when supply shortages will be (?felt) keenly, when it will be necessary to restore gradually, step by step, market equilibrium. This will not happen immediately. Thus, we say forthrightly that in these conditions it will be wiser to ensure institutionally the selection of the most competent people while fully respecting the opinion of the workforce. The appointment of a director should be carried out on behalf of the state by the founding body. I think that the decisive (?principle) is that leading positions should be occupied by people distinguished by a high level of expertise, experience, inventiveness and energy, by abilities to correctly shape relations in an enterprise through so-called managerial relocation [redyspozycja kierownicza], through a suitable sociopolitical attitude--by people with high moral values.

At the ninth congress we unequivocally supported the widening of the recruiting base for leading personnel, for creating of equal opportunities for party and non-party people. The objective is to shape relevant mechanisms for the selection of leading personnel and ways for the selection of candidates for enterprise managers.

Taking experience into consideration, we think that an open competition has the necessary characteristics for the selection of managers. The task of the selection board should be to choose the candidates. The board set up by the body appointing the manager should consist of representatives of the founding organ, the workforce council, the party organization, trade unions, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and social and vocational associations operating in the enterprise.

In conformity with the draft bill on enterprises, the founding organ will appoint the manager from among the candidates chosen by the selection board. The prerequisite for the appointment of the manager must be the agreement on the candidate by the workers' self-government, because only an accepted manager and one agreed on by the workforce can function effectively and implement properly the decisions of the self-government.

An integral part of the suggested concept is the possibility of appointing managers by the workforce councils, also from among candidates selected through competition. In this instance the founding organ would have the right to confirm the manager selected by the self-government. This method could be applied mainly in enterprises of smaller size and importance.

Esteemed comrades! The regaining and strengthening of confidence between the community and the authorities is closely linked with the development of socialist democracy.

The party is the citizens' (particularly the working class) advocate and participates broadly in governing the state and managing the economy. Workers' self-government is based on the national ownership of the means of production. Thus, the workers' group does not own these means; it uses them, and is a trustee of the national wealth.

The decree of 6 February 1945 gave broad powers to the factory councils in the sphere of joint management and in the supervision of the work of state enterprises. The idea of socialist self-government gained fresh impetus at the turn of 1956-57, but the broad powers of the workers' councils envisaged in the statute of November 1956 were again restricted in 1958 by a decree on workers' self-government. The feeling which has been increasing in the party for a long time, that the idea of broad workers' self-government must be developed and implemented by issuing of an appropriate statute, achieved genuine political grounding in September of last year in the decision of the sixth plenum of the Central Committee. This decision defined the course for the development of socialist democracy and profound economic reform.

This March, the Politburo assessed the work of the commission dealing with economic reform matters and stressed the need to appoint an enterprise of an authentic self-government of workforces by proposing that temporary workers' or labor self-governments should be created in factories. At that time, a positive assessment was made of a preliminary draft statute on self-government that had been worked out by the commission and it was proposed that the draft be publicly discussed. Hundreds of press articles have appeared on this subject. Numerous observations from workforces, from individuals, from comrades have reached the commission dealing with economic reform.

After the draft statute was discussed--at a plenary session of the commission dealing with economic reform in which representatives of all the trade unions participated--the draft was submitted in June to the Sejm for approval. The following provision formed the basis of the concept of the self-government of workforces at socialist enterprises: Workers' self-government is a constant element of socialist democracy and of the new system of the functioning of the economy.

No one and nothing can restrict the rights, role and function of the self-government which the future Sejm statute will define.

Self-government has an overall nature. This means that the workforces in all enterprises should and can elect councils of workers' self-government. The powers of workers' self-government should guarantee that the workforces have the opportunity for genuine management in a factory. Self-government activities should promote the linking up of the interests of every worker with the interests of the entire collective, and linking up of workforces' interests with general social interests.

With rights and the right to decide on important matters affecting the workforce and the enterprise, the self-government should take upon itself part of the responsibility for economic results and for the shaping up of social relations in an enterprise, for correct relations between people and conscious labor discipline. The workforce directly participates in self-government in the shape of a general gathering of workers and indirectly participates by electing the workforce council.

According to the draft statute, the rights of self-government are qualitatively different and incomparably broader than any previous concepts for legal regulations. These rights include the right for the workforce council to adopt decisions which consist of the right to express one's opinion; the right to come forward with initiatives, proposals and observations; and finally, the right to control all of the activity of an enterprise.

As for crucial decisions, the workforce council makes them in matters concerning multiyear and annual plans; investments; an enterprise's statute; joining a group of enterprises; factory construction; the activities of sports, cultural, social and other centers and installations; and in the matter of the principles governing the holding of a referendum in an enterprise.

Dependent on the agreement of the workforce are the appointment and dismissal of an enterprise's director and deputy director and the director's proposal for dividing the produced income into individual funds. The council has the right to express its opinion in all matters concerning the enterprise and its management, including matters pertaining to the conclusion of agreements, to proposals about awarding all kinds or prizes and state decorations, and finally in the matter of decisions about the allocation of housing.

There are no limitations on the workforce council's ability to put forward any suggestions. A director has the duty to present his opinion on any suggestion within 2 weeks. As to the right of control, the powers of the council include, among others, the whole spectrum of financial and materials management, the annual accounts, the investigation of the implementation of the planned tasks and all forms of local control.

As to the concept of self-government, two views were expressed in the discussion, reflecting two extreme approaches to this issue. One of them is the (?technocratic) view and the other the anarchistic one.

The first negates completely the need for workers self-government starting with the assumption that in the present technological conditions and current production systems, enterprises can be managed only by specialists. In its less extreme form it aims at the elimination of the workers' self-governments--and we know this trend from the past.

We reject this concept as profoundly erroneous and contrary to the role of the socialist self-government and the role of the working class in our community. The other extreme is represented by the anarchistic view which demands that self-governments be given absolute and unlimited (?powers). As a matter of fact it treats the process of making management and property more controlled by the community as transferring into the hands of a certain social group of (?some) of the national property [words indistinct]. This view is aimed at linking group interests and general interests exclusively through market forces and unlimited free competition. It negates the role of the state and central planning. One must say that the exclusive introduction of the principles of the reform exclusively without the idea of self-government is a simplification.

From the political side, anarchic conceptions existed in the past and are used now as a tool for the gradual struggle, first, for economic power, and finally, for political power in the state. A characteristic of this trend is a disassociation, as part of its program, from political activity which this movement has actually demonstrated. The party will struggle for real self-government in the workforce, not for the so-called self-government which serves antisocialist groups as a steppingstone in a struggle for power. Self-government should be a sovereign organization of the workforce and not a cell of trade union organizations or of political groups which are above them.

Draft laws on enterprises and on the self-government of the workforce have been submitted to the Sejm. A set of further more detailed laws has been prepared. The concern is particularly with a legal regulation regarding planning, the economic system, principles of taxing enterprises and the banking system. Without these legal regulations economic reform will not be able to proceed. Over the next 2 months relevant draft laws should be submitted to the Sejm. It is essential to begin the implementation of economic reforms on 1 January 1982.

We propose that the PZPR plenum be instructed to undertake an initiative to set up in the Sejm a special commission to deal with matters of worker self-government, whose task would be to look after the functioning and development of the self-governments of the workforces of enterprises and of other economic units. Teams of party councillors in the voivodships People's Councils should make similar initiatives. Party organizations should develop as broadly as possible political work to create among workforces a climate that would be conducive to winning over the working people, trade unions and youth organ-organizations to the idea of worker self-government and economic reform. These issues should be at the center of the system of party training.

(?We would like) the best and the most experienced employees to be elected to the self-government bodies, employees of a high moral stature, who are involved in social work, but especially those who have the mandate of the workforce. Party members should take an active part in the work of teams dealing with economic reform which are emerging now in enterprises.

Party members should play an active part in the work of teams dealing with matters pertaining to the economic reform which are now coming into being at enterprises, whose task is to prepare factories in an all around manner for activity in conditions of reform.

Voivodship, town, district, factory and other committees should organize economic training for the broad aktiv, should inspire the press, radio and television to popularize matters pertaining to workers' self-government and to economic reform.

Esteemed comrades! In the discussion which is now in progress on the subject of economic reform and the role of workers' self-government, one often hears the question: Should the party occupy itself with the economy? Often we receive, to all intents and purposes, a negative reply to this question. The party, it is claimed, should occupy itself with politics and not economics. If it must occupy itself with the economy then it should, at the very most, propose, prompt, and even assess, but not act directly on the scene of the economy. One cannot agree with such an interpretation of the party's role in the economy. Politics, after all, is the formation of relations between classes, social strata and groups based on taking into account their interests and the mutual condidtioning of these interests.

Class and group interests, as is pointed out by Marxist-Leninist Theory are manifested through economic interests which form the genuine reason for people's activities, and which prompt them to be active in production. In our system the aims which stem from economic interests and to which various classes and social groups strive are varied. Contradictions and even conflicts arise between them if the party does not spot them in time, does not pull them up to the surface of political life, and does not create political conditions for harmonizing these interests. We have been convinced of this on more than one occasion.

In narrowly understood economic aetivity. one replies particularly to these questions: what, how much and for how much? In political activity pertaining to the economy these questions must be formulated somewhat differently: why, for whom and in whose interest? From the purely economic point of view what is important above all are things, quantitative relations and (?details). But as viewed from the party angle, the social consequences of economic activity and their political (?synthesis are what is important). In this sense, esteemed comrades, there is nothing more political than economic decisions. [passage indistinct]

Not without accident Vladimir Lenin described politics as the synthetic expression of (?economics). Many important decisions are made in our country, and our party ought to influence them and also influence the way in which they are implemented. [passage indistinct] The party must, therefore, have at its disposal its own system for analyzing economic processes, a system of research into party opinion aimed at finding out the political effects of economic actions. This is an important guideline for problem commissions, party organizations and echelons, party apparatus and also for our institutes and party schools. To obtain agreement of group and individual interests with the national interest is not an easy process because it means continuous limitation of the interests of parts of the community for the sake of the whole. In particular, we ought to be sensitive to the groups which economically are the weakest, to listen to what they have to say and to make sure that such voices are heard. Such party activity would be in full agreement with the system of the values of socialism, whose supreme principle is to make equal chances and thus achieve social justice. Thank you, esteemed comrades, for your attention.

Session Speakers

LD030940 Warsaw PAP in English 0831 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep (PAP)--The third PUWP CC plenary meeting opened here today. The agenda includes the PUWP tasks in shaping the position of the crews' self-management in socialist enterprises under the economic reform.

Opening the debates, PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania said that it is a matter of great importance for the worker self-management to express the will of the working class and to [word indistinct] interests and the interests of the entire nation. We must shape a model of self-management which would arise from the harsh realities of our life, promote a growth of the production of bread and the development of democracy, and serve the satisfaction of the widely conceived social needs and overcoming various troubles of our life.

Stanislaw Kania said that a PUWP CC Commission for Mining would be set up at today's meeting.

Another commission is to analyze the causes for the crises which occurred during the entire period of People's Poland.

Next Jan Glowczyk, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC, editor in chief of the weekly ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, delivered a report on the PUWP's conception with regard to the workers' self-management. The report is 28 pages long.

The report provided the ground for the plenary discussion during which the floor was taken by 29 members of the PUWP CC.

The discussion confirmed the right choice of the plenary meeting's subject. The crews' self-management forms nowadays a basic condition for stimulating social initiative in overcoming the crisis and for the success of the economic reform. Simultaneously, this is the main political problem around which struggle for the principles of the system is going on. Various themes, from purely pragmatic to deliberations over the party's strategy, were taken up during the discussion on the subject.

The different forms of self-management called into being at present should be politically and officially recognized as provisional, it was stressed during the discussion.

Practice will show quickly that self-management, conceived exclusively as a right to appoint directors and control assets, leads to the perpetuation of anarchy. Self-management consists in responsibility, hard work and effort. He who puts matters in a different light indicates a road which appears encouraging and attractive, but in reality he is deceiving the working class and the society, said Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the PUWP Warsaw Committee.

Our situation is dramatic. There is political chaos, an unstable social situation and a dramatic economic situation.

One could leave things as they are. I feel however that this would be a tragic way out, simply because the society would never forgive us. It would call us and Solidarity alike to task.

There is another way out, one which we are discussing today--introduction of the economic self-management reform, immediately, from January 1982. At the same time we must realize that it will be a poker game, because we want to accomplish in three months what others prepare for years.

As long as there are no appropriate laws an intermediate tactic should be adopted and create self-managements both on the basis of Solidarity's "network" project and the so-called government project. [sentence as received] Party organizations should not evade self-management. It is necessary to immediately organize self-management and, at the same time, it is important not to get eliminated from the organization process itself, said Edward Skrzypczak, first secretary of the PUWP Voidvoship Committee in Poznan.

It was stressed during the discussion that party organizations should (?be) an animator of the creation of the founding committees of the employees' self-managements. The lack of uniform election principles in the country is a source of misunderstandings between the party organization and the trade unions as regards the matter of representation and methods of appointing candidates. The variety of solution creates a possibility to manipulate elections. We are aware that in the elections those comrades may lose on whom we pin our hopes, said Kazimierz Borowik, construction foreman of Czestochowa.

It should be inadmissible and illegal if just one of the political or trade union organizations active at an enterprise usurps for itself the right to organize elections, said Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions Consultative Commission.

Appointment of directors should take place by means of competition. It must be realized by everybody that director represents the state in the enterprise. The person of the director cannot remain indifferent to the party organisation. The trade unions cannot exert overt or covert pressure on decisions taken by the self-management and, through the self-management, on the director. In justified cases--as a result of referendum and resolution of the self-management--the self-management should have the right to recall the director, said Jan Kowalski, member of the Central Committee, wireman at CHEMITEX-WISTOM plant in Tomaszow Mazowiecki.

Mieczyslaw Grabowski, member of the Central Committee, worker at the rolling bearings factory in Krasnik said:

Self-management and all organizational operations connected with its creation are long overdue. The point is not only that we lag far behind initiatives of the Solidarity leadership, but we have also failed to catch up with social needs, let alone keeping ahead of them. This context operation of the mass media is open to criticism. Lack of quick reaction and lack of honesty are the principal sins.

Speaking of confidence--it is necessary to revert to the very sensitive issue of responsibility. It turned out that, together with the 9th party congress, we closed the chapter of calling to accountability the owners of People's Poland from before August 1981. In that manner we shall never regain confidence. People are telling us, quite rightly, that we are protecting those who are responsible for the present crisis. Let the people standing before empty shops know that the prosecutor is dealing with those responsible for the fact that queues have turned into dangerous crowds. This will not produce more food, but will add confidence in the party.

A matter which continues to upset the society is the penal responsibility of people who were expelled from the party during the congress, and of their trials which were to take place. We must tell the society how their cases are being dealt with. I believe that there is no need to shield these people, said Aleksander Kusnierz, CC member, first secretary of the PUWP works' committee at the engineering plant in Gorlice.

A political struggle is under way for the shape of the employees' self-management. Initiatives of the Solidarity trade union aim at basing self-management on a "network" programme. Therefore, it should be the most urgent task of party organizations to create an atmosphere and conditions for holding grassroots democratic elections in enterprises. Party organization cannot allow self-management to be formed by Solidarity exclusively, said Zbigniew Abramowicz, foreman in the coal mine in Zabrze.

Social goods are being manipulated in the struggle for the shape of self-management and enterprise. In fact, this is designed to deprive the party of its influence on the cadre policy. Solidarity attaches particularly great attention to the appointment and nomination of enterprises' directors by the self-management. Yet, every ruling party, regardless of the system has a decisive say in the cadre policy. Therefore, concepts to this effect are unacceptable, said Ignacy Drabik, foreman at the PREDOM-METKO metal works in Skarzysko-Kamienna.

In the evening the plenum concluded the first day of its debates. 55 speakers have taken the floor so far. The session will resume tomorrow at 8:00.

Debates Continue

LD021456 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The debates are continuing at the PZPR Central Committee Third Plenum in Warsaw.

The first to take the floor was Ignacy Drabik, member of the Central Committee and senior foreman at the PREDOM-METKO metal factory in Skarzysko-Kamienna in Kielce Voivodship. He stressed the need for final decisions on the matter of workers' self-government, because since August of last year one can hardly speak of workforces' participation in the joint governing of enterprises. He devoted a large part of his speech to the activity of the extremist forces in Solidarity.

The next speaker was Zbigniew Abramowicz, member of the Central Committee and mine foreman at Makoszowy coal mine in Zabrze. He said that the most difficult task of the party organizations is the creation of an atmosphere and conditions for carrying out grass-roots, democratic elections for the workers' self-government. The role of the party is to conduct such elections so that the self-government can be a real representative of the workforce and so that the feeling of responsibility for the fate of the enterprise is a personal obligation and not a passing desire.

Janusz Bucko, candidate member of the Central Committee and deputy director of the eastern directorate of the state railway region in Lublin, stated that one cannot imagine the non-participation of the workforce in implementing the economic reform.

The next speaker was Jerzy Jaskierna, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. He stressed the particular significance of youth's relationship to the totality of work connected with the economic reform.

Opinions were also expressed by Jan Kowalski, member of the Central Committee and an electrician at the CHEMITEX-WISTOM factory in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, and Kazimierz Borowik, member of the Central Committee and brigade leader at the construction enterprise in Czestochowa.

2 Sep Session Ends

LD022042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] The PZPR plenum concluded its first day of debates shortly after 2130. The plenum will resume tomorrow at 0800.

Plenum Resumes 3 Sep

LD030722 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Third Plenum resumed at 0800 today. It is discussing the party's tasks in shaping the self-government of workforces of socialist enterprises under conditions of economic reform. Organizational matters will also be examined. It is envisaged that resolutions will be passed. Teodor Subolek, member of the Central Committee and a miner from the Manifest Lipcowy mine, was the first person to take the floor.

Touching on the fact that the sociopolitical situation still continues to be tense in Jastrzebie, Subolek emphasized the need for stepping up the offensive in party activities. The speaker stated that in connection with activities of extreme forces within Solidarity, it was necessary to (?popularize) more effectively the results of the Ninth PZPR Congress and to implement its decisions consistently.

Prof Tomasz Afeltowicz, chairman of the Polish Economics Society, who was the next person to take the floor, focused his attention on problems connected with preparing and implementing the economic reform. A management system in which the principle of instruction and division predominates has become one of the main causes of economic collapse. That is why we attach so much importance to setting up self-government bodies.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee, was the next person to take the floor. Making his position known with regard to certain problems raised by those who took part in the discussion, he pointed out that since August last year the Central Committee was, above all, preoccupied by the extraordinarily complicated current situation and by setting out [word indistinct] party tasks.

However, embarking on wider problems which stretch into the future is an equally important task. The Politburo already dealt with them and this is reflected in the range of topics under consideration during the current, Third Central Committee Plenum. Touching on the ninth congress decisions, he gave assurances that the Prosecutor's Office was engaged in intensive work aimed at bringing to account those who were guilty of malpractice. Cases which were under examination for a long time and were subjected to careful scrutiny would soon be examined in the courts.

PZPR INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION MEETS 2 SEP

LD022141 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] A session of the International Commission of the PZPR Central Committee was held today. The deliberations were chaired by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee. The forms and sphere of the work done by the commission were discussed and the subjects to be discussed at its sessions until the end of the year were determined.

KKP OF SOLIDARITY OPENS 2-DAY SESSION IN GDANSK

Two Resolutions Adopted

LD022254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] A 2-day session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity opened in Gdansk today. This is the last meeting of its kind before the approaching first national congress of the union. The most important point of the session was the presentation of a draft of and discussion on a KKP report prepared for the congress. The report reviews the history of the founding of NSZZ Solidarity and notes the way its organizational structures, activity and program-based principles have developed. It also contains an assessment of events and social processes of the past year in Poland. Fundamental discussion on the report has only just begun and will be continued on Thursday.

Compensation for the price increases for bakery and grain products was discussed, and in a resolution adopted on this matter the KKP stated that the increases can be accepted on condition that there is full compensation, that it will not burden the wages fund, that it will be paid out of the state's budget, that it will also be granted to workers employed in the crafts industries, and that there will be an appropriate improvement in the standard of nourishment [dieta]. Taking into account the preliminary calculations of the KKP plenipotentiary responsible for foodstuff matters, according to which full compensation should average about Z175, the union came forward with the demand that compensation proposed by the government should be increased. As a result, the compensation was raised to Z160. The union retains the right to demand, if need be, an amendment to the compensation after at least 1 month's observation of the real increase in the cost of living.

It emerged from the discussion that the Solidarity authorities were unable to carry out full consultation within the whole union in the matter of price increases and compensation. Following consultations and incomplete research, varying opinions were obtained, particularly as regards the amount of compensation. Many people voiced the opinion that the amount of the compensation should be differentiated. The KKP recognized that such a solution would be too difficult and socially expensive.

A resolution was adopted on the matter of payment for the warning strikes carried out in July and August of this year. It was recognized that the resolution on this matter adopted by the Council of Ministers, which states that payment shall not be made for the above-mentioned strikes, was aimed against the interests of working people, and it was decided that demands would be made to have it rescinded. THe KKP demands that payment of money for the warning strikes which has been kept back should be made by 30 September of this year. In the event that these demands are rejected by the government the KKP will present the matter to the national Solidarity congress in the second round of its deliberations with the aim of making a decision as regards the form of protest.

Later in the session a resolution was adopted on the matter of NSZZ Solidarity access to the mass media. It is stated in the resolution that the events of the past month were such that implementation of the decisions of the Gdansk agreement in this sphere, in the view of the KKP, must be implemented immeidately. Meanwhile, in the opinion of Solidarity, the government side has recently taken a negative stance.

Among other things, the union demands the implementation of the decisions adopted at the 23 May talks between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and representatives of Solidarity.

With regard to radio and television services for the national Solidarity congress, KKP rejects the political conditions, particularly the union having to commit itself to stopping protest actions in the mass media. An alternative proposal has also been formulated regarding the services provided for the Solidarity congress. According to the first variant, two independent teams would be active, one established by the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs and the other by Solidarity. The second variant provides for one team established by the committee but consisting solely of Solidarity members. The KKP Resolution expresses support for the recent activities of the Association of Polish Journalists.

The KKP session will be continued tomorrow.

Meeting Continues 3 Sep

LD031051 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Sep 81

[From radio correspondent (Szatkowski) in Gdansk]

[Text] According to (Pawel Fillero), a representative of Solidarity's press bureau, today's session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] began at the House of Technology in Gdansk at 1100. The talks are in camera, as they were yesterday. The Congress Commission report is now being discussed. Among other things, a draft of changes to Solidarity's statute is being debated. The National Electoral Commission report will be next on the agenda. Discussion of union access to the mass media is expected to take place this afternoon. Among other things, the accreditation of the television news team is to be examined. However, it is being consistently emphasized that the congress will be covered only by journalists who belong to Solidarity.

Here I would like to add a brief reflection: In my opinion such an attempt to curtail journalistic activities is tantamount to curtailing the flow of information, striking a blow against the basic right of journalists to voice their own opinions on the subject of the union's activities. But this is also something that Solidarity is fighting for, stressing this fact often in its critical publications.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON SOLIDARITY ACCESS TO MEDIA

LD021506 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep (PAP)--In a commentary on Solidarity's objections to an alleged (?anti-Solidarity) propaganda campaign carried out by the Polish mass media and the resulting fight of the union for broader access to the media, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today that the question was not so much of access to the media as of their [words indistinct]. Formally, the daily continued, the union demands that besides the nationally published half-million circulation SOLIDARITY weekly, a number of local papers/the number of which is growing/and some hundred bulletins/the circulation of some is quite significant/, it is granted its own separate columns in papers which are not published by the party, an hour a week on radio and half an hour on television. All this is to be edited outside the control of editing boards and the Radio and Television Committee.

In fact however the fight has another quite different goal. The aim is to render all mass media criticism and polemics with Solidarity's stand impossible. The union also wants to be granted the right to freely publish and circulate contents that hit out at the Polish socialist state and its alliances. An example of this is the issue of the WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC till recently published at the Huta Katowice steel mill, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT NATIONAL ISSUES

LD021456 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1025 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski gave an interview to Julian Bartosz, chief editor of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, which is published in Wroclaw. Here are extensive excerpts from this interview, supplied by the POLISH PRESS AGENCY:

Over the months and at the initiative of some prominent Solidarity people, a propaganda action has been unleashed against me. It astonishes me, not only because of its scope, but also because of its unconcealed malice and even enmity. I get the impression that there is one basic reason behind these furious attacks: When I speak of issues or things, I call a spade a spade, thereby forcing prominent Solidarity people to make their position quite clear. Just after the Bydgoszcz incident, I presented in an unambiguous way to the Solidarity leaders my view concerning the goals and political ambitions to which they subscribe. I do not beat around the bush, because I regard openness and sincerity as the first, the necessary condition for creating a partner-like relationship. But many Solidarity leaders like to be evasive, to leave their sentences unfinished. They are fond of being suspicious. Others, in turn, do not conceal their distaste, to put it mildly, for the PZPR. They do not conceal that they are linked by a spiritual kinship with the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and even the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland].

To all of this I can only give one answer: I can only implement a line that I consider correct, a line that corresponds to the position of the party and the interests of the nation.

Further on, the deputy premier focuses his attention on the need to regain confidence in the government's actions. He says, among other things: I constantly observe the following phenomenon: A certain section of the public--it is difficult to say how large it is--supports us, although, more often than not, this support is passive, as if they were onlookers. It is support coupled with a wait-and-see attitude. They are spectators, looking at the way the government is grappling with certain branches of Solidarity, or those of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions or the Autonomous Trade Unions. If we fail to do something, we encounter ironic smiles. For instance, I meet people who say that we do not need strikes, that they are harmful.

However, when strikes are declared, hardly anyone opposes them. Well, maybe this situation is now beginning to change a little. So, if I want to regain support, I must continuously seek an answer to the question: In what direction is it necessary to proceed to regain confidence? The regaining of confidence is tantamount to the strengthening of socialism in Poland. If one encounters people along this path who say that such a point of view, such an appraisal of the situation arises from opportunism, that this is social democracy, one becomes helpless; one cannot call them other than dogmatists who simply do not wish to face reality.

Numerous questions and answers pertain to the line of social contract. Here are some of the deputy premier's opinions. He states, among other things, that he is convinced that a different political line to that suggested by Stanislaw Kania at the sixth plenum could lead us to a great national tragedy. (?In all this), says Mieczyslaw Rakowski, I am tormented most by the thought that those who attack the line of agreement have a rather nonchalant attitude to what is termed the national interest. Radical and prominent people from Solidarity are also among those who attack this line.

Maybe some of them are unaware of this, asks editor Bartosz.

I would not quite agree with you here, replies the deputy premier. Among those who, through attacks on me, criticize the line of agreement, there are many consummate politicians. They know well what is at stake. The margin of unawareness here is either minimal or it does not exist at all. However, people thus attacked are often unaware. Often, even during the congress, young people from Katowice among other places would come up to me and ask: Why are you, Comrade Rakowski, being accused of subscribing to social democratic views? What's going on here? Indeed, they may well be unaware. However, those who authored pamphlets attacking me, those who distributed them, those people know what is going on here. I subscribe to the view, states Mieczyslaw Rakowski, that in the interests of Polish socialism--since socialism in Poland will always have its distinguishing features--in the interests of the future communist generation in Poland- we really must carry out very substantial and profound changes in our concept of exercising power, in our outlook on society, and in our goals. If we do not do this, history will judge us severely.

I know that this line of agreement, the deputy premier further says, is fraught with dangers. I know that it is a leap into the unknown, that often one does not know how it will end or what the consequences will be of our decisions. I am aware of this and share this concern. However, this is something different from the method used by some people of using strong words or of dealing with problems by creating trances.

I am amazed at how deeply rooted this faith in the power of trances is in some comrades.

In another part of the interview the interviewer says it appears to him that in a conflict, when one sits down to a peaceful discussion, even if there is one argument after another, it is possible to come to an agreement; but mutual will is required. Here is what the deputy premier has to say:

I do agree completely with this line of reasoning, providing that if one wants to remain truthful, it must be said that the partner is sometimes open to arguments and sometimes not. During the recent period, most often he was not open. I notice in the leading groups of Solidarity the consolidation of very dangerous trends. Their supporters want to see in Solidarity not so much a trade union as a base for an opposition, an anti-communist party.

I do not rule out that attempts at forming such a party will soon become very real. Maybe this is a good thing. When asked why he answered the way he did, he said: Because in this way the front of struggle will be clearly defined.

In my activities both in the government and in the Central Committee, Deputy Premier Rakowski continued, I am an opponent of extremes. I fully support Stanislaw Kania's views. What does this mean? This means in practice that I analyze everything I do or should be doing from the point of view of how to counteract these extremes. Recently I have been opposing the rumor that the government is starving the nation, because this is simply a lie disseminated by extremists.

It is they who have started this rumor while waiting in lines. Needless to say every country must have a certain minimum of reserves. For instance, someone says several thousand tons of meat are in some store. But this means nothing, even from the point of view of supplies for one large city. On top of that, it is difficult to send meat to the shops directly from the slaughterhouse.

We must have reserves for several days. The deputy premier adds that those who say the government is storing food in warehouses certainly want a situation without any difficulties and that it would be totally impossible to supply the population. [sentence as heard]

Many people do not want to understand this. This problem also consists of the fact that many people who do understand this do not want to explain it. Referring to market supplies, the deputy premier admits that the situation is extremely dangerous. Virtu ly nothing operates normally in the market any longer.

It is in this, he says, that I see the gravest danger to the line of agreement. Should the supply situation continue to deterioriate, to a great extent due to genuine shortages, and as a result of a further drop in the production of meat, but also as a result of the purchase of everything that appears on the market, a real demonstration against hunger might occur in Poland--a real one--because those held in July and early August were deliberately organized by skilled politicians or maybe instigators. And then any spark will suffice for a fire to start somewhere. At that point our entire policy of agreement, dialogue and partnership will be called into question. In other words, there is a certain danger that confrontations can be created not only by people who are against this line but also by those who are desperate.

It may originate from the economic situation and not the political one. Referring to the threat of confrontation, and therefore also to solutions involving the use of force, we have been detecting the origins of such a confrontation in politics.

At this juncture the interviewer asked the deputy premier about his views concerning the possibility of reaching understanding with trade unions while going through not just deep valleys but also the sharp, genuine symptoms of an economic crisis.

If you want me to be frank, the deputy premier answers, I see at the moment diminishing possibilities. Maybe they are brought about by the pressure exercised by the union authorities and the community in general, but the fact remains that the Solidarity propagandists have tossed to the community the slogan about our destruction of the nation. This is, of course, a monstrous accusation. Small wonder, therefore, that slogans and posters have appeared comparing our system to the one existing during the Nazi period. Can one describe such activities as partnership?

Has partnership caused the events of 6-7 August? The Solidarity propaganda apparatus is now trying to prove that it was the government, and actually myself, who caused the fiasco of the talks. This is plain dishonesty, since the members of the National Consultative Commission Presidium and their advisers know very well that their actions were improper, to say the least. They know this very well, but what can they lose by pointing to the government as the culprit? It is well known that after this year of accusations of government ill will and inefficiency a large segment of the community is ready to accept the arguments presented by the very skillful Solidarity propagandists.

Later in the interview the deputy premier states, among other things, that in the present situation voices are heard expressing need for greater firmness and greater determination on the part of the government. The majority of the accusations, he says, are addressed to the government. But this certainly does not mean that in every case these charges are justified.

Often those who accuse us of a lack of firmness do not exhibit it themselves at all. All the same, our system is and must be based on the principle of collective responsibility. This means that not only I as deputy premier am responsible for policy but that the secretary of the works committee is responsible as well. They ask us why we are not firmer. Many have asked me about this at the congress. I have answered: And can we count on your support when we embark on firm actions?

It is worthwhile to include the concluding sentences from Deputy Premier Rakowski's interview: I believe that the fate of Poland depends on whether our party will at last become a cohesive and uniform force. I constantly stress that we are the ruling party and that this imposes specific obligations upon us.

CIOSEK VIEWS GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY SITUATION

LD022314 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Jelenia Gora]

[Excerpts] Stanislaw Ciosek, minister for trade union affairs, stayed today in Jelenia Gora Voivodship. He is a Sejm deputy for Jelenia Gora Voivodship. Stanislaw Ciosek took part in a meeting with electors in [name indistinct] and met a group of activists of Autonomous Trade Unions from Jelenia Gora Voivodship.

During a short press conference, Stanislaw Ciosek said that he saw his function as one of a minister who serves cooperation between the trade unions and the government so that this dialogue can serve the cause of cooling down the political climate and of improving living conditions.

He also said that at present the situation between the government and Solidarity is tense, and that no agreement has been reached on stopping the continually deteriorating economic situation. I expect much from the coming Solidarity congress which should define the direction in which this powerful trade union will go.

Minister Ciosek also answered accusations launched against him by some Solidarity activists concerning his activities in Jelenia Gora. He stated that his conduct and his actions had been checked out in depth by the relevant organs and that these accusations were rejected as untrue.

DIRECTOR NOT REMOVED; RZESZOW SIT-IN STRIKE BEGINS

LD021802 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Because no agreement was reached during talks held on 31 August and 1 September in the Rzeszow printing plant between representatives of the workforce affiliated to Solidarity and representatives of the printing industry association, who attended the talks in the capacity of mediators, a sit-in strike began in the plant at 0600 today. The strike was declared because the plant's director has not been relieved of his post following a vote of no confidence passed by the Rzeszow printing plant Solidarity.

LE MONDE REPORTS ON OLSZTYN PRINTERS' STRIKE

PM021125 Paris LE MONDE in French 30-31 Aug 81 p 2

[Amber Bousoglou dispatch: "We Will Strike Until Christmas if Necessary..."]

[Text] Olsztyn--The exercise of democracy and freedom is a difficult art. The printers at the Gryf Printing Works in the capital of Mazury, a marvelous region of lakes and forests, are at present experiencing this. After the "days without press" on 19 and 20 August, they initially refused to continue printing the party organ while operating the rest of the plant. Then on 27 August they launched a full strike, occupying the premises, despite appeals from the Solidarity leadership.

The reason for all this is that the manager of this enterprise, which employs some 600 people, refused to pay for the work done in place of newspaper printing. In addition he submitted a complaint for violation of the freedom to work, claiming that the members of the local Solidarity cell had prevented "others" from working. The "others," in other words those who belong to the Industrial Branch Trade Unions (the reconstituted former official trade unions), stated that this was untrue and joined forces with their comrades in the Solidarity trade union.

The television gave extensive coverage to the enterprise manager's version. The printers then grew angry and also asked for the manager to be removed. The factory gate was closed. It was decorated with the red and white Polish flags and was quickly covered with small bunches of flowers bearing handwritten messages of sympathy from various enterprises and individuals surrounding a holy picture of the Virgin and two pictures of Pope John Paul II.

Behind the gate, at the back of the yard, an altar was set up and above it flags in the national colors carrying the inscription: "Let Poland Be a Country of Democracy and Truth." A priest came late in the afternoon to say mass for the workers and the crowd assembled outside. People handed round the pamphlets distributed by those behind the gate. Women brought food and clean clothes for their husbands.

In short, Olsztyn is reenacting its very own "mini-Gdansk" 1 year after the event. Solidarity's "fire brigade," which left Gdansk at 1400 hours, was unable to avert this action at dawn on Thursday. The strike committee intends to prove, as the Solidarity leadership has been constantly telling it for months, that everybody has the right to decide what he intends to do in his enterprise and that everybody must wage the struggle in his sector.

"Isolated Strikes"

The officials responsible for order show exemplary strictness and do not tolerate any unfairness. To prevent any incidents the PZPR regional newspaper journalists who have their office in the building were even allowed to enter. The daily has been printed since 19 August "somewhere else" on better quality paper, probably in military printing works," one of the printers told us, and he added: "We would like to work with paper like that; to think that they are not even honest enough to say that they are printing the newspaper elsewhere; they are reproducing the normal headings."

Discipline and democracy come first: The strike committee met to decide whether or not to meet Jacek Kuron and Bogdan Lis, the two envoys of the Solidarity leadership. Finally it agreed to do so. Fome 2 hours later it was learned that an attempt was being made to settle the situation. The region's deputies came to join in the discussion. They were to play a mediating role between the strikers, the authorities and the manager. The latter was ill and stayed at home. He was finally persuaded to come. He apparently finally admitted that he had been mistaken and withdrew his complaint. At least, that is what was being said in the corridors.

The hands of the clock kept going round. Finally, around 1600 hours a general meeting of the strikers was held with the two Gdansk envoys and the strike committee. Jacek Kuron, the man who has already succeeded in moderating several conflicts in order to avoid the worst, tried to make the printers listen to reason. He said that he found their demands "honorable," but pointed out that the Solidarity leadership had asked all its members to end isolated and spontaneous movements and devote themselves to the essential struggle, which is that of the economic reform which must be "defined and implemented," owing to "the situation in the country which is heading for ruin" and "to prevent the population from going hungry in the coming months."

"In the present situation your action here is a demonstration of the trade union's weakness, and that is bound to please the government," he said. People's faces remained impassive. The printers did not like being addressed in that tone. Kuron tried to explain the accusation: "During the stormy discussion which you held before launching this strike--yes, stormy, don't deny it, I listened to the tape--none of you thought about the trade union's essential unity. Of course everybody is his own master and you are entitled to do what you think useful; and when you decide what to do, the National Coordinating Committee naturally supports you. But not now. You must understand: The government so badly wants us to be divided."

One strike committee member exploded: "By what right are you calling us to account." There was a general outcry and the chairman suspended the meeting for 1 hour both to prevent people exchanging insults and to allow the faithful to hear mass. The canteen attendant handed round glasses of milk while the indefatigable Kuron tried to win over those who remained in the room. One printer with a jet-black mustache said angrily: "There will be no obedience; our demands are valid; we will strike until Christmas if necessary." "Why not carry on for 5 years?" Kuron retorted in exasperation. "Why not?" the blunt man retorted, accompanying his remark with a few sharp swear-words. "For a long time we believed nobody, neither the party nor the government. Then you came along with the trade union, with Solidarity. You triggered something in our minds. It was you who told us that we must struggle, that it was up to each of us to struggle wherever he was; so why do you want us to stop now?"

Nothing happened despite interminable discussions. The strike goes on. Solidarity's envoys finally left on Thursday. Will Mr Lech Walesa himself have to make the effort to come here?

The Olsztyn case is typical of the "wildcat strikes" which the Solidarity leadership would like to see stopped in order to deal with the essential matters first.

LE FIGARO CONSIDERS SOLIDARITY'S 'POLITICIZATION'

PM021159 Paris LE FIGARO in French 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "New Deadlines for a Poland Without Illusions"]

[Text] Warsaw--Exactly 1 year after the signing of the Gdansk agreements which ended the massive strikes of August, and with a few days to go before Solidarity's first congress which opens on Saturday 5 [September], the atmosphere in Poland is one of general frustration, anxiety about the future and uncertainty about the line which both the government and Solidarity will take and on which the country's future will depend.

In any case, last year's upsurge is well and truly forgotten, the enthusiasm has vanished and with it the hopes--probably rather crazy hopes--which engulfed Gdansk and the whole of Poland. Workers in the shipyards who took part in the strikes of August 1980 confirm this in a interview granted to the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Henryk Frost, a former strike official, states: "At that time I thought that if we obtained this trade union and if we all supported each other, everybody would set to work, but there is more talk than work." He openly complains of a lack of trade union deomcracy in Solidarity and of the attitude taken by section chairmen who take no notice of the workers. Does he at least have confidence in Walesa? "I do not have confidence in anybody: I expected a great deal more, and now I have doubts. I do not know whether we will have a better life in 10 or 15 years time."

Roman Ossowski, another worker, added: "What do we have to be pleased about? Standing in lines? People say: You have your movement and your trade union. The truth is that that is what it all boils down to."

Clearly this is the last point at which the Poles can make a decisive choice between reasonable cooperation from all and confrontation leading to tragedy: Nobody on either the government or Solidarity side can now say which trend will win the day. Comforting signs have certainly been noted in the past few days. Government has agreed to Mr Walesa'a making a 30-minute television appearance this Tuesday evening. In addition the press conference held by Solidarity on Friday, on the eve of its congress, will also be shown on television. Furthermore in Radom the government has agreed to reopen the cases of the workers sentenced after the 1976 riots. Their case is to be settled by the Supreme Court itself.

Lech Walesa for his part is stepping up his efforts to end the current conflicts and to avert others. Moreover Solidarity has decided to ask its members to work eight theoretically free Saturdays.

In addition, it seems that some representatives of the authorities and of Solidarity are doing all they can to ensure that the independent trade union's first congress is held in a relatively relaxed atmosphere. These efforts correspond with the wishes of Archbishop Josef Glemp, Poland's primate, who has asked the parties concerned to observe a special 1-month truce. The church, whose mediating action is extremely effective, continues increasingly to be the main element of stability in crisis-ridden Poland.

The Soldiers' Responsibility

Indeed, the government has certainly adopted a tougher position since the party congress in July. In particular it is acting under outside pressures, in the economic sphere for instance, but it remains faithful to its guidelines: reforms and democratization on the one hand, but with an increasingly determined struggle to defend the foundations of socialism. Mr Kania confirmed this line in Poznan back on 26 August, avoiding a general condemnation of Solidarity and instead expressing the wish for cooperation with it but attacking the extremists acting within it. General Jaruzelski spoke in a similar vein in Koszalin on Sunday: "Permanent negotiation and the policy of categorical refusal are leading nowhere," he exclaimed before adding: "We will do all we can to overcome the crisis, introduce reforms and improve living conditions in Poland.... The confidence, understanding and support of the country are vital." However, if necessary the soldiers would take responsibility for the values of socialism: "They will protect and defend them. This is my deep conviction. It is an order."

However, the government is showing that it intends to move forward, and on Monday the press published the Council of Ministers' directives for forming committees throughout the country at region and enterprise levels, with the job of drafting an economic reform and producing their reports before 30 September. Similarly, tomorrow, Wednesday, the Central Committee plenum will spell out the party's position in favor of worker self-management.

Although the government's attitude has remained the same despite some move toward a tougher line, the attitude of many Solidarity circles has changed a great deal in 1 month and--it must be pointed out--has done so in a way which is bound to present serious dangers for the future. Indeed, over the past few weeks we have witnessed a very clear politicization in many Solidarity bodies. Caution and political maturity seem to have been abandoned in many cases: Antisocialist and even anti-Soviet statements, formerly falsely alleged by opponents of the Polish renewal, now frequently appear in trade union bulletins.

A particularly dangerous sign of this politicization was revealed on Saturday during the Poznan conference of Solidairty congress delegates. A proposal was submitted in favor of forming a "Polish Labor Party." It is true that the proposal was rejected, but only by 252 votes to 176. However, you only need a minimum of political sense to foresee the consequences which such a decision might have. Solidarity's congress will, therefore, give the trade union a final opportunity to reject political adventurism and make a determined commitment to implementing a program of defending the workers and helping to effect the country's recovery. It will also be Poland's last chance to avoid a tragedy.

NO CONCLUSIVE RESULTS FROM BYDGOSZCZ INVESTIGATION

LD021554 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] A press conference took place at the Bydgoszcz Voivodship prosecutor's office today, during which Deputy Voivodship Prosecutor Bogdan Niedzielski released a statement pertaining to the investigation into the events that took place following the session of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council [WRN] on 19 March this year.

The statement says, among other things, that some (?350) witnesses were interviewed during the investigation, a number of face-to-face meetings arranged and extensive use made of the opinions of the scientific community, NSZZ Solidarity spokesman and experts. Materials provided by the government commission and evidence found in the report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were also used. Plenipotentiaries of the injured parties and representatives of NSZZ Solidarity were permitted to take part in the investigation from the start.

From the evidence that has been gathered, it transpires that on 19 March a group of NSZZ Solidarity representatives took part in a session of the WRN in Bydgoszcz, intending to raise agricultural problems. The session closed, says the statement, after having scheduled the next meeting to take place at a future date. This made it impossible for Solidarity's representatives to take the floor. They failed to vacate the hall where the proceedings were held and embarked on actions which clearly pointed to the fact that they intended to occupy it.

Deputy Voivodas Roman Bak and Wladyslaw Przybylski, after fruitless attempts at persuasion lasting many hours, called on law enforcement officials to remove the Solidarity members present in the hall. During measures carried out by the organs of the Citizens' Militia [MO] representatives of the union Jan Rulewski, Mariusz Labetowicz and Michal Bartoszcze sustained bodily injuries.

Despite the fact that all possible action has been taken during the investigation, it has not been found possible to determine who carried out the beatings. Functionaries of the MO who participated in the affair were shown to the injured parties, who failed to identify the culprits.

Thus, proceeding from the position that the call for and use of the law enforcement officials was justified by the situation that arose and because the evidence that has been gathered has been found insufficient to determine the culprits who carried out the beating, the investigation has been terminated.

FARMERS' SOLIDARITY STAGES PROTEST IN ZIELONA GORA

LD022202 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep (PAP)--For almost three days and nights now members of the farmers' Solidarity, using more than 20 tractors fitted with farming equipment, have been staging a protest action at the Swiebodzin state farm, Zielona Gora Voivodship. On August 31 the Solidarity members entered one of the state farms' fields and were trying to plough and sow it. They were stopped by the state farm personnel. Attempts to solve the conflict produced no results.

Today, Zielona Gora Voivod Zbigniew Cyganik announced that legal action against perpetrators of the incursion had been instituted by the Prosecutor's office.

NSZZ FARMERS SEEK JOINT TU UNIONS MEETING

LD021856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations of the NSZZ Private Farmers has proposed a joint meeting with all trade unions that are active in Poland. The purpose of the meeting would be to discuss realistic means of improving the supply of meat and meat byproducts. The meeting, which would be chaired by the minister of agriculture and food economy, would discuss conditions for increasing the production and procurement of livestock for slaughter. These conditions include permanently maintaining the profitability of livestock for slaughter, ensuring that farmers who provide the procurement centers with livestock for slaughter have the opportunity to purchase the production means to which they are entitled, increasing the supplies of construction materials and equipment that are essential to animal production and increasing the supply of machines and agricultural tools for private farmers.

TWO NEW NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS REGISTERED

LD030655 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The Warsaw Voivodship Court has registered two new trade unions which are to operate nationwide. They are the Union of Workers of the State Inspectorate of Labor, based in Wroclaw; and the Union of Drivers and Transportation Workers, based in Warsaw. So far 86 trade unions have been legalized by court decision.

JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION ADOPTS RESOLUTION

LD030325 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] The Council of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP] session continued until late last night in Warsaw. The session was devoted to assessing the state of public information in Poland and to formulating a position on the statement by five representatives of the SDP leadership of 10 August and on the letter by the government press spokesman to the Council and Central Board of the SDP and the Council and Central Board of the Warsaw branch of the SDP.

After an introduction by Deputy Chairman of the SDP Central Board Maciej Ilowiecki, government press spokesman Jerzy Urban, who attended the session, took the floor.

Presenting the government's point of view with regard to the political aspects of cooperation with the community of journalists, he stated that the government is not able to fulfill its duties without social support, without the means provided by journalists. He also criticized the statement of five representatives of the SDP leadership and some actions taken by the association.

After a stormy discussion that lasted several hours and was full of controversial speeches, the council adopted by a majority vote a resolution expressing its stand on the issues discussed.

The resolution states: Taking care to provide comprehensive and true information to the population through the mass media is a statutory duty of the SDP. We stress this point once more when faced with attempts to call into question this paramount statutory function. We express our approval of the activities of the chairman and deputy chairmen of the SDP, of the Central Board, the general assemblies and boards of branches, the Council and board of the Warsaw branch and all our fellow journalists who feel jointly responsible for honestly informing society. This is our right and a duty assigned to the SDP by the resolutions of the extraordinary congress of our association. We consider that the 10 August SDP statement constituted the fulfillment of this duty.

Guided by the need for civic responsibility, the SDP Council appeals to all those who have mass media at their disposal, including government and trade union officials, to abide by the 10 April Sejm resolution that called for stopping any propaganda actions that set people at odds. We appeal to journalists to favor all actions building confidence, alleviating conflicts and uniting society around action aimed at overcoming the crisis.

Since the SDP extraordinary congress, the association has been undertaking numerous mediation initiatives during periods of acute tension, such as the Narozniak case, the strike of Warsaw printers in February and the conflict in the Polish Airlines, LOT. We wish to continue this tradition and at the same time we call for the public to be informed of all cases of deviation from the line of agreement and dialogue, regardless of who is responsible.

The SDP Council expresses its conviction that the community of journalists will not allow anyone to set it at variance with the party, the government of General Jaruzelski or the trade union movement. We have supported and we continue to support those government actions aimed at overcoming the crisis. We consider that without an information policy in accordance with social interest it is impossible to get out of the crisis. We consider it indispensable to create a model of social information that corresponds to the new changed relations between government and society and constitutes an instrument of social control. This would spare both government and society conflicts such as the days without press, posters or leaflets, as well as the allegations that important social forces are refused access to mass media, especially radio and television. We propose to urgently conclude an agreement which would take into account the information needs both of the society and of the government.

The SDP Council empowers the Central Board to reply to any attacks or attempts to split the association. We warn of the social dangers of victimizing journalists who refuse to take part in propaganda manipulations.

This was the full text of the SDP resolution.

MILEWSKI INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT SITUATION

WA030800 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 81 p 3

[Interview with Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee by Zbigniew Lakomski]

[Text] [Question] We are talking a month after the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress at which you, Comrade, were elected a Politburo member and Secretary of the Central Committee--I take this occasion to congratulate you on your election--and a week after the Second Central Committee Plenum. A truism today would be that both of these events are decisive for the party as well as for the nation....

[Answer] Thank you for your congratulations, although I am aware of the degree of responsibility connected with my new functions. However, I find strength in knowing that my comrades and I were elected in the most democratic elections one could imagine. Into party authority, at its various levels, entered people without experience in this type of work. But therein is the advantage--of awareness, authenticity and resoluteness. The fact that they were elected democratically, that they come from the party ranks and are genuinely connected with it, and that they have the support of both that party aktiv which emerged during the precongress campaign, and of the delegates, whose mandates the congress extended, permits them to better communicate with the entire party and the workers' class.

Constructive Actions Count

This is the strength of the party: the fact that it springs from the democratism of internal life and from close ties with the workers' class and with society. We are also strong today because the party consistently conducted an accounting of the mistakes of the past period, a process which is not yet completed. In addition, our strength is derived from the precongress and congress discussions, genuine discussions with the participation of all members of the party, discussions during which we worked out an analysis of the past and an outline for the road on which we will proceed further, a return to Leninist norms of life, understanding and dialogue. We will walk with long, deliberate steps together with the entire party since every one of its members can and should show activeness in the implementation of the provisions contained in the congress resolutions.

We continue to count on all those constructive forces which genuinely contributed to working out the party line and who can and will implement it within the framework of the existing structures of the party. We also count on the assistance of those honest communists who, in a state of emotionalism, were eliminated from authority at various levels. Today, everyone can, by his attitude, affirm his usefulness to the party by implementing the congress resolutions.

The ninth extraordinary congress delineated the road of the PZPR--the party whose strength is its loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and whose trademark is patriotism and internationalism; the party which is the main guarantor of the sovereignty, independence and socialist security of the Fatherland. All this contributed to the favorable acceptance of the congress by society and by our friends.

[Question] However, the results of the congress and the directions delineated in its resolution--strengthening the party and attesting to its resuming the initiative in conducting socialist renewal--are not responsive to everyone and were not positively accepted by everyone.

We have, unfortunately, seen proof of this recently. Am I mistaken in posing the thesis that our opponents are doing much in order to downgrade the achievement about which you have spoken?

[Answer] No, you are not mistaken. The congress, by its democratic course, indeed disturbed the opponents of socialism. The congress aroused the activeness and initiative of party organizations and party members. That must have alarmed them.

Already during the course of the congress there were attempts by opponents to undertake various actions here and there, which--in their opinion--could disturb the course of the deliberations, and influence its outcome, the content of its resolutions, and the composition of the central party authorities. New slogans were found along with the hunger slogan; after all, there is no hunger in Poland.

Irrevocable Decisions

[Question] It is worthwhile perhaps to call attention to the novelty which is fundamental in this question--the taking of people, including women and children, out on the streets of the cities....

[Answer] Employing demagogic slogans which always, and especially in our case vis-a-vis existing difficulties in life, are particularly catching, they are trying to bring about confrontation. Not authority with them, but authority with the nation. The inclusion of women and children in that is particularly unfortunate and dangerous. Those women went out on the streets with the intention of making life easier for their children. They did not know that, as evident from the scenarios known to us and to me especially as the former minister of internal affairs, scenarios prepared by foreign diversion centers, that such actions in the preharvest period were planned in advance.

They are in fact a part of the scenario, calculated to destabilize life in the country and to permanently weaken authority, disintegrate it, and then, gradually take it over, to estrange our allies and friends from us and to isolate us from them. The brutal attacks on the state and its organs, on the party in various regional publications of Solidarity, leaflets about antistate, antisocialist and anti-Soviet contents are to serve this purpose. Let us add to this the attempt to organize the so-called "star march" in defense of alleged political prisoners which Poland does not have, and in essence, in defense of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] group, hostile to socialist Poland, whose leaders are answering for their actions before an independent court.

The developers of all these actions know well that authority which does not oppose such actions is weakened. Since the occasion presented itself: Does not the convergence of all these actions with the content of the recent U.S. House of Representatives resolution, which carries all the characteristics of interference in our internal affairs, not seem strange?

[Question] Now, following the congress, which gave authenticity to the party and called upon Poles to participate through honest work in leading the country out of the crisis, various protest actions and strikes are continuing to erupt combined with flagrant violations of the law. Should this be treated as a continuation of the implementation of the scenario which you, Comrade Secretary, are speaking about?

[Answer] Of course. We have to deal here also with consistent counterrevolutionary activity. This, after all, is clearly evident from pronouncements at various meetings of well-known opponents of our system in Poland. It is not I, therefore, who am uncovering this scenario; the opponents, themselves, are hiding their true intentions less and less.

Their declarations, transposed into actions by certain irresponsible persons in the regional elements of Solidarity, are a constant irritation disturbing the normal rhythm of our life, which should be distinguished by work and a feeling of security.

I would like to be clearly understood. I am speaking about certain Solidarity activists, for the trade union organization itself has become rooted permanently in our life and our reality, and can and often has fulfilled a constructive role. I am thinking about adventurers who--inspired by their foreign bosses or for their own political ambitions which do not serve the nation--do not hesitate to take advantage of their influence on the masses of Solidarity. However, optimism prevails as more and more members of that organization and increasingly wider circles of society notice their true faces and plans.

Everyone Equal Before the Law

[Question] Comrade Secretary, you stated that state authority which does not oppose such actions weakens itself. Perhaps more and more citizens, who are demanding simply greater assertiveness by the state in countering destabilization and disruption of public order, are coming to believe this.

[Answer] Such decisiveness is indispensable and this was explicitly confirmed recently. The congress resolution and the party statute accepted at the congress clearly describe the tasks in this regard, using the phrase: "The PZPR shapes socialist awareness, combats reactionary ideology, and wages battle with antisocialist forces."

A demonstration of the attitude on these matters, the direction for strengthening the socialist state, and its authority were clearly accented at the Second Central Committee Plenum. All comrades who spoke in the plenary discussion unanimously demanded decisive resistance to all forces undertaking antistate actions, anarchy and destabilization of our already complicated life.

Based on this, the government recently made a number of decisions whose implementation should restrain the process of destabilization in our life. These decisions, speaking most generally, recall that there is an unbreakable law in Poland, and deal with the consistent execution of the stipulations of that law, which guarantees the protection of social property and does not permit, for example, the exploitation of state and public means of transport for any types of demonstrations and which protects the fundamental civic right, the right to work, an example of a violation of which we had recently in Silesia, and protects the representatives of the state and economic administration in carrying out their official duties.

These decisions are receiving increasingly broader support today. The brutal actions of the organizers of public tensions have caused changes in the attitude of the public--including a considerable portion of Solidarity members toward them. The yearning and striving to stabilize life and to base it on public calm and work is becoming more and more universal in the country.

The democratization of our life is of concern to everyone. The party and government have demonstrated it. We consider improving the law a big task. Among others, a commission was established at the second plenum with the task of supervising efforts in this field and of supervising the execution of this law.

[Question] This is connected with the state of legal awareness of the populace, is that not? And also with its knowledge about the status of observance of the law...

[Answer] One has to say that the state of legal awareness is not the best in Poland. Familiarity with the laws is universally better than with the civic obligations. This pertains, among other things, to the stipulations of the Labor Code. One has to abide by the civic laws, observe the principles of rule of law, and we are doing this, while placing higher demands on the state functionaries. This cannot, however, mean agreement to take advantage of democratic freedoms to disrupt life.

We must bring about in honest people an awareness of the truth about the intentions of the enemies of socialism, to reveal that which the average citizen often does not notice--that these enemies are anxious to arouse emotions for purely political purposes having nothing in common with socialist renewal.

Hence, the necessity to inform the public completely about the current status of observance of the law in Poland and about the methods for carrying it out. There should be no insinuations in these matters, all the more as we feel a tremendous social need for this today.

We will consistently execute this law. We have accepted the generally acknowledged principle that everyone is equal before the law. We will remain faithful to it; hiding behind the immunity of the sign-board will not protect anyone who wants to play havoc with public calm or attack the system and the people's authority. We know how to distinguish between those expressing different views within the framework of the constitution--in Poland no one is called to account for his views--and the true enemies of the system encouraging antistate activities. Let the latter know that the punishment stipulated by law awaits them.

The party and government do not want to hide their intentions or actions. We are open to checks by the populace and the elective bodies representing them. However, consistency in our action is indispensable to bringing law and order to Poland. Only in conditions of law and order can one think about constructive actions which will lead our country out of the crisis and stabilize our life. Behind us we feel the support of the public, whose awareness of this is maturing more and more fully.

LE MATIN DESCRIBES DIFFICULT MEAT SITUATION

PM021421 Paris LE MATIN in French 28 Aug 81 pp 10, 11

[Jean-Yves Huchet dispatch: "From France to Poland in a Meat Truck"]

[Excerpts] Food aid for Poland: Of the credit of FR420 million which Paris has decided to give Warsaw, FR70 million are devoted to buying meat. Thus 11,000 tons are going to be sent to Poland by the national interprofessional office for cattle and meat before 15 September. The government has decided to transport this meat by road in refrigerated trucks.

LE MATIN's special envoy Jean-Yves Huchet made the trip in one of these trucks. In Poland after delivery to the Krakow municipal slaughterhouse, he tried to find out what was going to happen to the 17 tons of hog carcasses transported. That was a difficult task. But according to evidence from Solidarity regional officials, some of the aid might be diverted and reexported, in particular to the USSR.

Andrzej (Bordzecki), one of the members of the Krakow regional committee presidium, explained that the monitoring system planned by Solidarity regarding the distribution of food and foreign aid has still not been set up. The National Consultative Commission [KKP] is, however, acutely aware of the need for it: "All the figures supplied by the government are wrong," he continued.

Solidarity's ambition is to set up a system which would make it possible to really report on the state of food production, its transportation and, possibly, on exports, by checking what happens at the borders. Thus from the grassroots committees in the enterprises up to the KKP and including the regional committees, Solidarity could check out the authorities statements.

"At the beginning of last week," the delegate added, "the deputy foreign trade minister solemnly swore in front of the television cameras that Poland had not exported any food products to the USSR since 1975. I would find it very surprising if that were true and the railroad workers' reports are likely to enlighten us. As for coal, they swore that it was no longer being exported but we now have proof that the contrary is true."

All these checks are obviously a delicate matter. "In order to reexport goods secretly, military trucks are often used," Andrzej (Bordzecki) continued. "Any attempt to check those trucks would constitute an antirevolutionary act. It is therefore impossible."

The Krakow slaughterhouse was in fact full of military trucks, a great many of them, as elsewhere in Poland, but here they are sometimes concealed to some extent. In Solidarity the tale is also being told of a Polish worker who wanted to repaint the inside of his house: He stole a pot of paint from a rail convoy in Gdansk which was going to the USSR. But when he opened it at home he saw that it was in fact stuffed with pork....

This August meat rationing has become even more drastic. The vast majority of the population have only 3 kg per person per month. In France the average consumption is 7.5 kg. All categories--there are nine--have suffered a 20 percent reduction. Since distribution is in a state of complete chaos, many Poles stand in line for 2 or 3 hours a day and find nothing at the butchers while illegal trading is merrily going on in the back room.

"The government attributes this 20 percent reduction to the fall in production within the official networks. But in fact the peasants are not slaughtering fewer cattle because they have fewer cattle but because they are keeping these cattle for themselves," Andrezeu (Bordzecki) explained. "And the problem is that Rural Solidarity's members do not have very reliable figures: Some of them are concealing the state of their production in order to profit from the black market too."

Some peasants are also refusing to slaughter their animals and prefer to allow them to fatten since the prices, which have been frozen for 20 years, will probably soon be increased.

The black market is flourishing: Before rationing, meat was being sold at four or five times the official price, at around Z50. Today it has reached Z500 per kilogram which makes it beyond the means of the average Pole. "The government cannot be dissatisfied with this artificial shortage and the speculation: Any method which turns people against Solidarity is a good one..." The Krakow delegate concluded.

PREMIER DECREES ECONOMIC REFORM PREPARATIONS

AU021357 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Aug 81 pp 1-2

["Decree by the Council of Ministers Chairman Concerning Preparations for the Economic Reform in Economic Units and State Administration Organs"]

[Text] According to the government's press spokesman, the Government Presidium at its 28 August session discussed in particular the status of work on draft bills on state enterprises and on the self-government of state enterprise collectives.

Minister Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for the economic reform, reported on the work of the Sejm's subcommission examining preliminary draft bill presented by the government. The Government Presidium determined the way to implement the decree by the Council of Ministers chairman concerning the further work on the economic reform. In view on the importance of the issue, we publish the full text of the Council of Ministers chairman's decree.

The Decree

In order to coordinate and to make appropriate preparations for the economic reform, the following has been decreed:

Paragraph 1

1. Ministers, leaders of central offices, voivodas, voivodship-level city mayors, directors of enterprises and of other economic units are committed to set up, before 15 September 1981, task forces for the economic reform:

1) Ministerial task forces in ministries and central offices;
2) Voivodship task forces in voivodships and in cities with voivodship status;
3) Enterprise task forces at enterprises and other economic units.

2. Provisions are to be made for the participation of representatives of political organizations, trade unions, public and trade organizations and workers' self-governing bodies in the work of the task forces.

Paragraph 2

Before 30 September 1981, ministerial task forces for the economic reform are:

1) To work out proposals concerning the new organizational structure of ministries and the range and methods of activity in ministries and central offices under the conditions of the economic reform;
2) To draft legal acts connected with the economic reform;
3) To organize a system to train cadres in problems involving the economic reform;
4) To determine the scope and method of coordinating the work to be performed to prepare organization units within the ministry for the action under the conditions of the reform.

Paragraph 3

Before 30 September 1981, voivodship task groups for the economic reform are:

1) To work out organizational solutions for and the methods of exercising supervision over economic activities by state administrative organs in accordance with the guidelines of the reform;

2) To assess the progress made in small-scale production and at state farms in implementing the Council of Ministers' decisions concerning the new economic system, and to present conclusions drawn from those assessments;

3) To draw up principles for coordinating preparations for and the implementation of the local economic reform.

Paragraph 4

1. Before 30 September 1981, enterprise task forces for the economic reform are particularly expected:

1) To analyze the effect of the production structure and level and of production methods on the enterprise's general financial performance under the conditions of the new economic solutions and procurement prices;

2) To draw up draft changes in the enterprise's organizational structure and in the level and structure of employment in line with anticipated material supplies and production;

3) To analyze links with the suppliers and customers and to draft changes in this field;

4) To draft motivation systems at the enterprise in line with the new principles of fund gathering and distribution at the enterprise.

2. Task forces are expected to present the results of their work to enterprise collectives and to solicit advice.

Paragraph 5

Task forces for the reform are to review the present regulations and seek the abrogation or modification of those regulations that could hamper effective activity under the reform conditions or could hinder the implementation of reform theses.

1. Before 15 October, enterprise task forces for the economic reform are to present proposals concerning:

1) The abolition of regulations issued by enterprise managements. Decisions on this issue are to be adopted, each within the scope of competences, before 31 October 1981;

2) The modification or abolition of regulations issued by ministers and other central administrative organs, as well as by local state administrative organs. Those proposals are to be presented before 31 October 1981.

2. Before 15 November 1981, ministerial and voivodship-level task groups for the economic reform are to see:

1) To abolish or modify regulations issued by ministers, leaders of central offices, voivodas and mayors in cities with voivodship status. Decisions on this issue are to be adopted, each within the scope of competences, before 30 November 1981;

2) To abolish or modify decrees and decisions regarding ministries by the Council of Ministers or the Council of Ministers chairman. Those motions are to be presented to the Council of Ministers office before 30 November 1981.

3. Before 30 December 1981, the government's plenipotentiary for the economic reform along with the minister of justice are to seek the abolition or modification of the regulations contained in item 2, letter "B".

4. Ministers, leaders of central offices and mayors of cities with voivodship status are expected, as soon as possible, to adopt decisions abolishing or modifying regulations hindering organizational, economic and state administration units in their efficient functioning.

Paragraph 6

The decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

[Signed] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, Council of Ministers chairman

SLOWO POWSZECHNE ON CHURCH'S ROLE IN CONFLICT

PM021502 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 22-23 Aug 81 p 1

["Mos" article: "Voice of Caution"]

[Text] There is possibly no other country in the modern world where the voice of the Catholic Church is listened to with such attention as in Poland, in particular during the last 12 months, since the memorable statements by Primate Stefan Wszynski in Wambierzyce and in Jasna Gora last August. The church has been involved in this great, historic process, which is defined as renewal, while at the same time this presence is of a specific kind--more a moral authority than a political factor. All the partners hold the authorities in esteem, from the Central Committee first secretary to the student organization hotheads. It is quite impossible in such a short commentary to list, even in the form of a slogan, all the mediatory activities which have assuaged restless moods undertaken by Primate Wyszynski, Bishop Dabrowski, secretary of the episcopate, and other bishops. It was also certain, despite such a loss as the death of Cardinal Wyszynski, that this sort of national service would not cease.

The last days have brought confirmation of these hopes. Polish Primate Archbishop Jozef Glemp returned from Rome after discussions with the pope. He returned at a moment of heightening tension. Only a few days later he met PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania, who put forward--according to the official communique--"the guidelines for a social and economic stabilization program proclaimed by the ninth party congress, as well as grave dangers to the nation and to the country's independence."

During the same period the primate received the representatives of the leading Polish intellectuals--Polish Academy of Sciences Chairman Wladyslaw Markiewicz; Warsaw University Rector Prof Henryk Samsonowicz; Union of Actors and Theatrical Composers Chairman Karol Malcuzynski; and Polish Journalists' Association Chairman Stefan Bratkowski. It can only be assumed that one of the fundamental topics of the talks was the subject of the protest march regarding the political prisoners. As is known, even the authority of the National Consultative Commission and of the Solidarity executive for the Mazowsze region was not enough to call off the march. It can be gathered from the statements of the march organizers that only the authority of the primate prevailed. This is an omen for his future service to the country.

An event of quite different significance, however, was the publication of the Polish Episcopate Main Council's latest communique. It was published in connection with the difficult sociopolitical situation, but at the same time with reference to the first anniversary of the strike action started by the workers on the north coast. It is, as it were, a recapitulation of the last year, so full of achievements, experiences and dangers. The church's voice reminded us most of all of how much we achieved within that period. We forget too easily, the communique points out, that the path lying before us is a path of sacrifice and self-denial: "(...) Society is ready for such sacrifices, provided it feels sure that its efforts will not be wasted; if the expected structures of workers' responsibility for and management of enterprises are indeed created; if all the social forces participate in the preparation and realization of the economic reform, and the program is acceptable to the whole nation (...)."

The church's voice appeals for caution and reason, at the same time warning against two dangers particularly pressing in the recent period. The first is the exploitation of the difficult social situation for factional and political struggles, regardless of where they spring from. The second danger is the temptation to manipulate the mass media, which should serve the whole of society by expressing the truth. This moment was inherent in the teachings of Primate Wyszynski, to recall the dramatic words directed at the journalists during the retreat, in the period of the Bydgoszcz conflict. The problem remains topical, as the latest events testify. For this reason the demand put forward by the Polish Episcopate to render radio and television accessible to the new trade unions, to the church, and to all the centers of public opinion in Poland should be treated with particular attention.

NATIONAL COAL PRODUCTION FIGURES ANNOUNCED

LD0J0524 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1430 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] In the first 8 months of this year the miners produced nearly 107 million tons of coal; in August, 12.8 million tons. This includes nearly 570,000 tons produced during the additional voluntary work by a part of the workforces on Saturdays. The average daily output of coal last month amounted to almost 582,000 tons. Last year at the same time the miners produced over 609,000 tons.

KANIA CONGRATULATES RESISTANCE LEADER ON BIRTHDAY

LD021532 Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Sep (PAP)--On the occasion of the 85th birthday of General Jan Mazurkiewicz--"Radoslaw"--an outstanding organizer and commander of the underground Home Army between 1939 and 1945, PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania sent him a message of congratulations.

"Please accept my best wishes on the occasion of your birthday. May I add to those words of respect for your contribution to the cause of Poland's independence, for valor showed in the most difficult of wars--in the struggle against Nazi Germany during the occupation and on the barricades of the Warsaw uprising. I wish you ever new reasons for satisfaction in public service and all the best in your private life," the message said.

Thanking for the wishes in a letter to Stanislaw Kania, General Mazurkiewicz said: "In the present difficult and complicated situation, national concord and undisturbed work are one of the most important things. Both I and all the former Home Army soldiers affiliated to the War Veterans Organization are working towards full realization of that goal."

DEPUTY MINISTER POZOGA ON 'WESTERN ESPIONAGE'

PM021044 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 81 p 4

[Zenon Skuza interview with Brig Gen Wladyslaw Pozoga, Polish deputy minister of internal affairs: "Concern for Poland, Its Security and Peace"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, first of all I would like to ask you, since you supervise the activities of the counterintelligence service, to state your views without, as they say, beating about the bush insofar as you can do this without disclosing any secrets, on several problems of great interest to the community which have remained shrouded in mystery. Do you accept this plane of discussion?

[Answer] Yes. It suits me very well. I believe that only in this way will it be possible to dispel all myths, insinuations and doubts. I would like to emphasize that counterintelligence activities have always been very tricky and, as a result of the present complex political situation, have become even more difficult. In addition to great experience, they require a continous analysis of facts and events as well as great caution. Close cooperation with the other services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is a prerequisite for their success. A considerable distrust of our department by many people, often inspired by certain well-known forces, has been one of the important factors which have hindered these activities.

[Question] Would you please describe the activities against Poland in which enemy intelligence services are now engaged and the threats posed to our country as a result?

[Answer] It seems that this subject is of great interest, especially since in the past decade nothing has been either said or written about the matter by the mass media. Whenever anything at all was published on the subject, it was merely a communique on the unmasking of a spy by the Ministry of Internal Affairs security service, the opening of his trial and the sentence imposed on him by a military court. This was the only information published.

It is a fact that in the very nature of things no counterintelligence service in the world wants to show its hand. I believe, however, that familiarizing the public with some of the methods used by NATO special services can be of considerable prophylactic value. The better acquainted the community is with both the methods used by those services and their area of interests, the more difficult the latter will find it to recruit informants.

It is regrettable that we should start only now to write and talk at greater length about the espionage activities directed against Poland by NATO special services. But, as the old proverb says, "better late than never." I am convinced--and I am disclosing now nothing new--that very much can be achieved through the mass media, which are effective instruments shaping the community's consciousness.

This course of activities should be developed by the department especially now, since enemy special services and centers of diversion have lately increased their activities against Poland, using various forms and methods.

The fact that 166 active spies have been exposed and arrested in the past 9 years shows both that espionage activities have increased and that the counteraction taken by our counterintelligence services has been effective. Some of those spies had not yet managed to carry out their missions and had not yet engaged in espionage activities in accordance with the instructions which they had received, because they were exposed and arrested in time. However, many had conscientiously engaged in espionage activities for a long time in return for their "30 pieces of silver."

Who Were Those Traitors?

[Question] What sort of people were those individuals who decided to betray their country? What sort of people have foreign intelligence services managed to recruit?

[Answer] Most of them were young people. Many of them were university graduates who had completed their studies in People's Poland and achieved high professional and social positions. Most of them could look forward to social and professional promotion. They were well off and enjoyed a high standard of living, and they agreed to cooperate with enemy special services mainly out of stupidity and a desire to get rich quick. Among them were such people as Leszek Chrost, Stanislaw Dembowski, Leon Celegrat, Andrzej Badowski, Henryk Trybek, Marian Blotny, Zenon Suchojad, Anatol Szulski and others.

The above-mentioned agents worked for either central organs of state administration or institutions and organizations of fundamental importance in the country. Because of their positions they had access to important information and documents which concerned either the country's defenses or economic problems, which they passed on to enemy intelligence services.

Many of the agents who were exposed and sentenced to many years of imprisonment by military courts committed the crime of espionage as a result of immoral behavior abroad, excessive drinking, gambling and violating laws in force in the host countries. All this was used by recruiters as compromising material.

It should be emphasized, however, that generally speaking not many people have embarked on the path of treason against their country. As the political consciousness of our country's citizens increases, enemy special services find it increasingly difficult to recruit agents.

They find their task difficult mainly because our nation is profoundly patriotic and because, after the bitter experiences which history has not spared us, it has become especially sensitive to the threat posed by foreign intelligence services and other hostile activities. It firmly condemns any betrayal of the country and any espionage as the worst possible crimes.

All this has been confirmed by the recently disclosed fact that agents recruited among foreigners have been sent to Poland. We could mention here, for instance, NATO intelligence agent M.P. Vaish, who has been found guilty by the Warsaw Military District Court. He used to visit Poland as a businessman and had dealings with various central and regional institutions. As a result of wide contacts with high officials in these institutions and access to source materials, he was well placed to gather information. Some other foreigners--R. Albrecht, J. Wenzel and I. Wagener, the masters of Western merchant ships which often visited our sea ports--were also foreign agents.

For many months we have been aware of a considerable increase in espionage penetration of our country by foreigners making short visits to Poland. In the 6 months of 1981 alone 220,442 foreigners from Western countries, including some 1,000 journalists from capitalist countries, have visited Poland. Many of those so-called tourists have sought to engage in espionage. Even among the journalists there have been 100 dabblers in such ventures. They have been expelled from our country.

Intelligence officers attached to various capitalist official agencies in Poland have also been engaged in multifarious intelligence and destructive activities. Taking advantage of their diplomatic status, some diplomats have been seeking to recruit Polish nationals for spying.

Two Faces

[Question] What role have official representatives of NATO countries played with respect to the current events in Poland?

[Answer] They neither were nor are indifferent to the development of events in our country. The present state of tension has been conducive to the development of their activities. It has made it easier for them to establish contacts and obtain information. NSZZ Solidarity members, who do not know what can and what cannot be disclosed to foreigners, among others, have often fallen victim to their activities. We have been noticing a growing trend in this sphere for many months. American agencies have been most active. Gradually, as Solidarity develops and its structures become stronger and, especially, since that trade union has been registered, agencies of smaller NATO countries, which until recently showed much restraint in this respect, have also been seeking to intensify contacts with it.

The trend toward maintaining contacts with Solidarity on the same level as with representatives of the state administration has become more apparent in the activities of major NATO countires. For instance, visits by diplomats to the provinces are organized in a way which ensures that meetings with Solidarity representatives take place parallel to visits to PZPR secretaries, voivodas and mayors.

In some agencies of capitalist countries in Warsaw a special post for current contacts with Solidarity has even been created. In most cases, secretaries for political affairs have been entrusted with this task. In many cases, visits by political scientists, well-known journalists and representatives of Western trade unions have served as a pretext for contacts with Solidarity.

NATO's Attitude to Poland

[Question] Have special services and centers of political diversion been exploiting such official and legal forms of contacts in their activities?

[Answer] Yes, indeed. Imperialist countries have assigned a particular role to their special services. Their aim is to ensure that our country continues to be destabilized. They influence the activities of various antisocialist groups. The decision made by imperialist forces to engage in confrontation with countries belonging to the socialist community as well as the realization of Poland's role and significance in East-West dialogue have been decisive factors in the activation of hostile activities directed against Poland. Analyses made by NATO organs and imperialist countries' governments have paid particular attention to the specific conditions prevailing in our country to which those countries' strategic objectives and the tactics utilized to achieve them have been adapted.

In the present political situation connections between hostile external and internal forces have become obvious. Cooperation between foreign centers of diversion and internal antisocialist forces has been the cause of some increasingly fast developing and most serious threats to our country's security.

Western imperialist circles have been providing large-scale material and political aid for extremist groups which have been proclaiming that they are ready to take power in Poland. The present course of events is seen by imperialism as a unique opportunity to achieve its long-term objectives within the framework of the global ideological confrontation between East and West. First of all, their aim is to weaken our country and break up the unity and stability of European socialist countries. Then they want to discredit the international communist movement.

This danger was outlined in the Central Committee report to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--"Today," it reads, "no one should have any illusions--a bitter ideological and political class struggle for power, our country's image and its place and orientation in the international sphere is being waged in Poland.... An accumulation of threats to socialism, an increasing number of counterrevolutionary occurrences, a large-scale economic crisis, the collapse of social discipline and the paralyzing of the activities of state institutions have endangered the state's existence. As a result, the task of saving the nation has become urgent."

[Question] What role does Poland play in the West's present strategy?

[Answer] Special attention is being paid to Poland in the West's strategy toward socialist countries. One of NATO's program documents states the following, among other things: "Its situation, its economic difficulties, its role in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, as well as its historical links with Western countries have made it imperative to follow continuously any developments and achievements brought about in that country. The guidelines and instructions given to the special services and sabotage centers suggest the implementation of tasks whose main aim is to undermine the party's leading role, break up the socialist society and set the community at odds with the authorities. Maybe I am repeating myself, but I would like to emphasize that NATO's special services have intensified their activities with respect not only to Poland but also to the entire socialist community. Therefore, it is imperative also to ensure close cooperation among our countries' fraternal counterintelligence services. This is our internationalist duty as well as one of the main prerequisites for effective struggle against the active special services of countries belonging to the aggressive bloc.

[Question] In this situation, what is the role of your department and what are its tasks?

[Answer] In a situation where both external and internal hostile activities have been intensified, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been implementing the party line as determined by the Sixth Central Committee Plenum and confirmed at successive plenary meetings as the only correct basis for socialist renewal and a political solution to the crisis. We have been loyal to this line and have consistently implemented it, and we will continue to implement it in accordance with the instructions given by the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress. By carrying out our tasks we have ensured security for our socialist fatherland and peace for all working people.

Citizens' Aid Needed

[Question] But despite these facts, neither the militia nor the security service is popular among the community....

[Answer] Maybe their work is not generally duly appreciated. However, such services exist in all countries not to become the subject of adoration but in order to correctly fulfill their obligations, namely, to ensure law and order, the state's security and peace for its nationals.

[Question] Nor are they highly respected by many people. Surely you will agree with me that public respect is an important prerequisite for the effectiveness of their operations.

[Answer] I realize this. We have been trying hard to ensure that these services are respected by the community. I am also aware that it is neither easy nor simple to gain respect, especially in such difficult circumstances as those in which we now live. It has become easy to lose respect or trust. But it is difficult, very difficult, to regain either. All too often people are swayed by emotions, forget about objective reasons, succumb to pressures exerted by extremists and lend their ear to gossip and slanders. Everyone of us could mention dozens of examples in support of this thesis.

It is difficult to expect these services to become generally "loved." I believe, however, that they should be respected as is the case in most countries in the world. While protecting our socialist fatherland from NATO's special services' spying activities, they also protect many people from embarking on the path of treason and, at the same time, the path of their own personal tragedy. Both the community and the state leadership now expect further efforts from us. We must be able to carry out any task. By the way, if the public were fully aware of our activities and of the results of our work, we would find it easier to gain its trust and respect....

CEAUSESCU RCP ADDRESS CRITICIZES FARM PRODUCTION

AU011701 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 81 pp 1, 2, 3

[RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the 29 August Central Committee meeting dealing with agricultural matters]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, this working meeting, which has been attended by basic party cadres in the sector of agriculture; first secretaries, secretaries in charge of agricultural questions, party organizers and chairmen of joint agroindustrial councils; directors of agricultural directorates, of state agricultural enterprise trusts, of agricultural machinery stations and of state agricultural enterprises, and chairmen of agricultural production cooperatives, has examined in detail the agricultural activities and results obtained to date this year, as well as measures to be taken to optimally carry out the fall agricultural operations and to thoroughly prepare for 1982 crops.

The debates centered--in a critical and self-critical spirit--on both good results and on failings and shortcomings noted in this year's activities. There have been attempts to justify failings, and the stand adopted against the shortcomings noted in certain countries and agricultural units was not resolute enough.

All counties have been carrying out consistent efforts to implement the 12th congress decisions and the tasks of the first year of the 1981-85 5-year plan. Thus, the yields obtained so far and the fall crops permit us to state that in general agricultural production is satisfactory, and even good in certain counties and for certain crops. This fact creates appropriate conditions for ensuring consumer supplies in accordance with the plan, both in 1981 and in 1982, until the next harvest.

In point of fact, in the first 7 months of this year we have generally fulfilled the plan provisions concerning consumer supplies of agricultural produce and foodstuffs, and consumption of certain products was considerably higher than in 1980. In general, this year's plan provisions for meat and meat products are being fulfilled, despite an approximately 12,000-ton deficit in the state stocks, which can be covered in the next 4 months. Sales of fish, sugar and sugar products are almost 15 percent higher than in 1980, while sales of oil are 8 percent and of margarine 11 percent higher. Milk products are less plentiful due to a failure to fulfill production and to perform deliveries to the state stocks in accordance with the plan. In comparison with 1980, sales of eggs are 19 percent higher, early potatoes close to 40 percent higher, vegetables 20 percent and hothouse vegetables 25 percent higher. Fruit production recorded a 5 percent increase. Bread supplies havebeen good--3.3 percent more than last year--and sales of pasta products have considerably increased. We expect vegetables and fruit crops that will permit good supplies in autumn, and appropriate reserves.

Nevertheless, we must add that e are not satisfied with the results attained this year in agriculture. It is true that meteorological and climatic conditions have been rather unstable; we had a cold spring, especially the month of May, which delayed germination, and a long period of draught in summer. There is no doubt that the crops were negatively affected by this unfavorable situation. However, as has been stressed at the meeting, despite those climatic conditions, certain state and cooperative agricultural units did obtain yields of 5,000-6,000 kg of wheat per hectare, large barley production, and expect to obtain as much as 10,000 kg of corn per hectare. A considerable number of counties achieved productions higher than envisaged in the plan. The counties of Ialomita, Olt, Constanta and others were mentioned at the meeting as having exceeded the plan. Unfortunately, however, the crops obtained in some counties and agricultural units fell short of plan provisions. I will not name them now, the facts are known and have been discussed at the meeting.

What are the conclusions that can be drawn from this year's agricultural activities?

To begin with, it can be stated that this year's experience shows that we have all the necessary conditions for obtaining stable and safe crops even with unfavorable meteorological and climatic conditions. For that, however, positive experiences must spread to all counties and agricultural units. We must resolutely apply scientific norms and knowledge to optimally perform agricultural operations.

Second, it can be stated that we have all the necessary conditions for implementing, in the course of the current 5-year plan, the 12th congress decisions concerning agricultural development. We are in a position not only to achieve the production envisaged in the 5-year plan, but also to exceed it.

Third, we must act more resolutely to rapidly and completely solve all problems concerning agricultural machinery and chemicals by better utilizing our machinery, and applying fertilizers and other chemicals rationally and with maximum results.

Fourth, this year's experience shows that the agricultural bodies and the agricultural academy must act more resolutely to ensure high-quality, productive seed and seedlings. Many of the failings of this year can be traced back to the utilization of weak, fourth generation seed, when normally seed should have been at most second generation. This is valid for all crops, both grain and industrial crops, as well as vegetables.

Fifth, the situation recorded in the animal breeding sector this year forcefully points out that we must resolutely implement the program on developing zootechnics and ensuring the amount of fodder necessary for increasing animal production.

Sixth, this year's experience shows that resolute steps must be taken to perform land amelioration and drainage operations, appropriately capitalize on irrigation facilities by better organizing land plots in accordance with the machinery available and with soil conditions, eliminate excess water, level the ground and perform operations appropriately.

And finally, this year's experience both in units that obtained good results and in those whose results were poorer shows that we must ensure optimal plant density for all crops; this is one of the decisive conditions for achieving good, stable crops.

Similarly, it has been demonstrated that sowing must be done at the optimal time. In hilly areas fall crops must not be sown beyond 1 October. Generally speaking, by 15 October all fall crops must be already sown. Only thus can the crops develop several stalks by winter and guarantee appropriate results. It has been equally demonstrated that spring crops must also be sown earlier. This year's practice has shown that when corn was sown before April 15 crops have been good, and when the sowing extended beyond that date the results are generally weaker.

Conclusions can also be drawn from maintenance operations. Deep plowing, especially in areas with less precipitation, permits greater water retention in the soil and thus conditions for better crops.

There has been much talk here about the draught. Precipitation distribution in the various areas has been explained. The important thing to remember is that counties with normal and even abundant precipitation have obtained low crop yields, while counties with less precipitation have obtained good crops and even exceeded plan provisions. When Ialomita County, with an average of 350 liters of precipitation in 8 months, obtained 3,700 kg of wheat per hectare, why did Ilfov and now Giurgiu, with over 400 liters of precipitation, obtain less? This comparison shows that it was not lack of rain, but lack of responsibility and organization of agricultural operations that caused unsatisfactory results. In point of fact, Ilfov County produced low yields last year, too, which indicates poor work. The same thing can be said about Timis County, where climatic and rain conditions were better than in Ialomita, while crops were poorer.

The conclusion that emerges is that failure to fulfill the plan provisions for wheat and other crops is primarily due to failings in the organization and performance of work and in applying the norms and requirements of modern agriculture. Naturally, the counties bear the major responsibility, but the Ministry of Agriculture also has a great responsibility, as does the Agricultural Academy and educational institutions. They did not fulfill their obligations. In Bucharest there is an Institute of Agricultural Education, an Institute for Wheat and an agricultural academy, which did not prevent unsatisfactory results in neighboring areas. This fact raises questions as to the activities of those institutes, and of the ministry, which is also located here. Not even in their immediate neighborhood were they able to ensure efficient guidance and management of agriculture. We have agricultural institutes in Iasi, Cluj and Craiova, but precisely in the area of those big institutes crops were poorer. How is one to justify the work of research and education personnel, whose obligation is to link education with research and production, and who are directly responsible for results in agriculture? We must give serious thought to those conclusions. The ministry, the Agricultural Academy, educational institutes and experts must give it very serious thought! It would seem that not all research and education cadres have grasped the fact that their job is not to produce paper and reports, but to ensure agricultural outputs on a part with current requirements and international achievements.

Each county must proceed to a serious analysis of its work and of activities in each unit, and must take organizational measures to strengthen the leadership of agricultural units and to replace those who proved inadequate. We must judge people not by what they say and by their reports, but by the production achieved; we must appoint committed and skilled people who are determined to ensure implementing agricultural development programs. Our target should be to have production of no less than 3,000 kg of wheat per hectare in each county. The counties in the southwest and partly in the east--about 15 such counties--must produce between 4,000 and 5,000 kg per hectare. The counties belonging to the second category must produce at least 3,500 kg per hectare, and approximately 12-15 counties of the third category must produce at least 3,000 kg per hectare. With current precipitation, by approximately selecting the land and improving the quality of work, and by applying the right plant density we can easily obtain such yields. Plots of land with less than 600 wheat plants per square meter are not acceptable in any area. In fact, the seed quantity envisaged permits 700 plants per square meter, which in normal conditions should ensure 6,000-7,000 kg per hectare.

Let us have serious talks with all managers of agricultural units, county agricultural bodies and of course with personnel in research and educational institutes and at the ministry, and ask them if they think they can pledge to do appropriate agricultural work. Those who think they cannot should say so and free the place for somebody else! There must be an end to formal self-criticism. There is a limit to everything! Formal criticism and self-criticism will not give us wheat, corn, meat, milk or vegetables. We do not need words, no matter how self-critical; they lose their value when repeated ad infinitum. They may be good in the case of some mistake, but not when it comes to production! In agricultural production criticism and self-criticism are only justifications of inactivity, and what we need are grain, vegetables, fruit, grapes, milk and meat.

Some of the first secretaries have presented things superficially, without knowing the facts, and have brought all kinds of excuses. However, as first secretaries and chairmen of people's councils they bear great responsibilities, sanctioned in fact in party decisions and in the law, which must be fulfilled. Some of them have the habit of coming to conferences and meetings, expressing self-criticism and making pledges, then going home and proceeding as before. This cannot continue! Hence, I ask you all very seriously that when a person assumes responsibility for dealing with negative situations in agriculture, he must act so that in the coming year we can obtain the plan-envisaged production for all crops, beginning with a minimum of 3,000 kg of wheat per hectare.

Those were some of the conclusions emerging from activities to date. We cannot be content with the fact that we have enough crops to ensure consumer supplies, because we have other commitments as well, for industry and export.

We gave up exports completely in order to ensure consumer supplies; we even had to import sugar, for example, to secure the envisaged consumption. Hence, we cannot be content with the fact that we have enough to eat. The agricultural sector is expected to do more than that. It must provide raw materials for industry and permit exports, since we have to import raw materials for almost all sectors of activity, beginning with light industry. The agricultural sector must at least be able to pay for its own imports--oil, metal for machinery and so forth. However, so far not enough has been exported to even cover the costs of imports designed directly for agriculture.

It is not enough to repeat again and again that we are determined to implement the 12th congress objectives and to achieve an agrarian revolution. The agrarian revolution will not come about through words, but through large agricultural production. In order to build the comprehensively developed socialist society the agricultural sector must play an increasingly important role and increase its participation in the progress of the entire national economy. We are making great efforts and investing a lot in agriculture; unfortunately, however, irrigated land is unprofitably utilized, as are investments in the animal breeding sector and other material means.

Those were a few of the conclusions that emerge from the analysis of this year's activities in agriculture. As I said at the beginning, we have all the necessary conditions for fulfilling the plan provisions and the 12th congress decisions for agriculture. We have the necessary material basis. The working people, the cooperative members and the peasantry in general constitute a powerful force, capable of fulfilling any task. We have a large number of experts who have demonstrated, in their great majority, that they can solve the most complex problems. By uniting all those factors and ensuring a better organization and management of all activities, we can optimally fulfill tasks and eliminate failings and shortcomings. Let us work so as to recoup in 1982 some of the production not fulfilled this year, especially in the animal breeding sector.

Comrades, we now stand before the fall agricultural operations. I will begin with the harvesting. The fall crops, as well as what is left of the hemp and flax and other summer crops, must be gathered on schedule and without losses. Forecasts predict a good fall; naturally, we cannot know how correct the weather forecasts are. However, they indicate almost sufficient rain in September, which will permit vegetables, beet and other crops to develop, as well as good sowing conditions. October is also expected to be a good month. It can be said that conditions will be good for the continuation of crop germination, as well as for performing agricultural work. All necessary measures must be taken to complete the harvesting of sunflower, beans and other crops by 10 September. We must thoroughly prepare for the corn harvesting. The sugar-beet harvest has begun; potatoes are to be gathered. The speed of vegetable-harvesting must be increased, so as to recoup in September and October what was not gathered in the summer months. We must ensure smooth daily deliveries of vegetables for both market stocks and for canning factories and winter storage. We have grapes and fruit to pick. There is a lot of work to be done, which must be well organized and scheduled. We will have to organize special work teams, transportation and all that is required. Resolute measures must be taken to organize each harvest at the optimal time, in each unit, agroindustrial council and county, so as not to have any losses. Appropriate transportation and storage must be secured for each crop, and nothing should be allowed to stand in the fields or on the ground. Even in cases where intermediate storage is necessary, such storage should also be planned so as to preclude losses and to permit appropriate watching. We must draw lessons from the way in which the wheat harvest proceeded. Olt County should be taken as an example: there the harvesting was completed in a short period of time, in fact on schedule. Other counties, however, did it in double the time and failed to organize the utilization of combines and other machinery. All operations must be performed in big teams and with machines, utilizing all necessary gathering, storage and transportation means, and providing appropriate crop storage.

Let us do everything that is necessary to harvest the fall crops without losses and to store it in optimal conditions. This is a must for good supplies and for the food industry, as well as for ensuring good incomes for units, workers and cooperative members.

Sowing is the second great action. We must make timely preparations for sowing, and plow the land. Wheat crops will be sown on land previously sown to wheat only on a small area, some several hundred thousands of hectares. For the rest, we will sow on plots on which preliminary crops have already been harvested or will be in the coming few days. Plots sown to corn which are to be sown to wheat must be marked, so that they can be harvested first. Even if in some places the corn is not quite ripe, it should be gathered so that the wheat can be sown. That corn should be utilized within 2-3 months in fattening farms, after it has been ground on the cob. Some 10 days must be allowed to elapse between plowing and sowing, to permit appropriate preparation of the soil. Sowing must not proceed at random. Good crops can only be ensured if the germination bed is well prepared. We must sow over 1 million hectares to barley and 2.3 million hectares to wheat. We must also sow some of the vegetables for next year: onions, garlic and early vegetables. The Ministry of Agriculture must establish firm obligations for each county in this respect. Forage crops must be sown. Practically speaking, counting fodder plants, pastures and hayfields, we have almost 4.5 million hectares to sow. The counties and joint agroindustrial councils must establish work schedules and all the necessary means for sowing and preparing the soil for each unit, and not in general; fruit trees and vineyards are to be planted in almost all counties. Not one single hectare should be left unplowed this fall, for any reason whatsoever.

The sowing must be done at the optimal time. Normally speaking, this operation must be concluded by 25 September in hilly areas. In point of fact, comrades at the Ministry of Agriculture have prepared maps showing that in those areas good crops can be ensured only if the sowing is done by 25 September. Those maps must be photocopied and sent to each county, so that they know what is their optimal sowing period. Counties which have land in both plan and hilly areas--that is to say, the majority of them--are divided into two major periods. Each county must know when to sow what, making adjustments when necessary and not exceeding optimal periods.

The second problem is that of rotation crop systems, of organizing the land and water drainage operations. The size of land plots should be established in accordance with specific conditions so that special drainage work can be done in areas with excessive humidity. No water should be left unattended in the middle of fields or plots of land.

We must take special care in preparing seeds. The Ministry of Agriculture, the Agricultural Academy, educational institutes and the counties must assume direct responsibilities for the quality of seeds. People must not be allowed to decide at random what seed to take. The most appropriate variety must be established for each area. In connection with failings due to wrong seed selection, some counties proceeded on the example of "Switchman Paun," [a Romanian folk tale]: those punished were farm directors, team members and mechanics, instead of those really responsible. The farm director is not guilty if the wrong seed was sown, but those who delivered the seed. It is not the farm director who is responsible for faulty organization and who should head the sanction list. Seeds must be provided not only for wheat and barley, but also for vegetables and industrial crops, and the ministry is responsible for that. And when I say the Ministry of Agriculture I do not mean this or that directorate, but the Ministry Leadership Council, and the National Council for Agriculture and its chairman, who is also a Central Committee secretary. It is those bodies that must ensure the supply and distribution of seed. And those who do not fulfill their obligations should suffer the consequences! The measures established for selecting and treating seed must be resolutely applied. Seed that has not been treated, and for which we have an analysis report concerning germination strength, should not be planted. This should be seen to in each unit and is the responsibility of each chief engineer or [joint agroindustrial] council management. We have cut down the number of councils precisely in order to be able to better supervise and manage them; hence all those problems must be solved. Measures must also be taken to ensure established plant densities, which should be viewed as minimal.

We must see to it that all plowing and sowing is done in such a manner as to lay a sound foundation for 1982 crops. The work that is done this fall is decisive for the crops of 1982. Hence, in view of the fact that we indeed have a lot of work to do--harvesting, sowing and plowing--we must ensure good organization and judicious distribution of forces. All agricultural forces must be focused on this target, beginning with the ministry, research and education personnel. We must also capitalize on commune forces, in accordance with the law on agricultural work, which permits stores, too, to stay closed so that everybody can work in the fields. All able-bodied villagers must contribute to completing agricultural work on schedule.

Comrades, as for animal breeding, I do not now want to go into a detailed analysis of that sector. The issue has been discussed several times this year. We cannot be content with the results attained to date. Progress has, of course, been made in many counties. However, we are lagging behind regarding the modernization of stalls and investment projects. Many counties are behind in gathering forage crops and ensuring winter fodder for their livestock. There are also lags concerning the number of livestock. Resolute measures must be taken, primarily to rapidly complete modernization work. Water supplies must be given primary attention. Each stall must be under supervision to ensure water supplies. All envisaged investment projects must be completed and begin producing as of this year. Appropriate shelter must be ensured for all livestock, and planned production must be obtained. Bulk fodder and hay must be transported by the beginning of winter, so that all units can be sure of appropriate fodder supply. We must also establish guidelines for sowing fodder plants for the spring, so that green mass fodder is available in April. Cattle and sheep breeding is based on bulk fodder and hayfields, hence serious work must be done to ensure all required conditions for the envisaged animal production. We must do everything possible to ensure the milk production necessary for good consumer supplies. Resolute measures must also be taken to attain slaughtering weights. In view of that requirement, I think greater attention should be given to rapidly developing pigs and poultry fattening facilities. We will thus need to slaughter fewer cattle and thus allow them to attain a weight of at least 400 kg. Birth rates remain low while death rates are still high for practically all species. Not everywhere have resolute steps been taken to organize--or even improvise--breeding farms for young heifers. Utilizing existing means, including hay bales, special areas should be set aside in stalls for calving and for raising and tending the calves. This should do until we can build more modern facilities. This problem must be solved this year, in fact in the next 2 months. Please exercise systematic control in this respect. The Ministry of Agriculture must deal resolutely with all those who do not fulfill this task.

Measures are also needed to improve fodder-preparation methods and fodder systems in general, so as to increase productivity and reduce consumption per unit of increased weight. We still need an average of 500-600 grams more fodder concentrate per kg of weight than international norms. This is due to inappropriate fodder application technologies and incorrect livestock care. The ministry sector in charge of livestock and the reorganized zootechnical institutes, together with county personnel and cadres from units, should work to eliminate negative situations and to improve this sector. We must endeavor to give stable and permanent standing to people employed in the livestock sector, and to expand their training, so that they can ensure appropriate livestock breeding and care.

A few ideas were presented here in connection with the establishment of areas for raising cattle and sheep. It was particularly stressed that livestock should be transferred to hilly and mountainous areas, where large areas of pasture land and hayfields are insufficiently used. Naturally, this idea will be discussed in each county, however, I want to ask the counties to consider it and even to advance suggestions, so that in summer young cattle earmarked for fattening can be sent to mountain pastures. That would be incomparably less expensive. Milk cows especially should be kept in stalls; but even cows from farms which produce milk for powdered milk and cheese should be sent to pasture. Cattle should always be led to pasture, as has always been done. We must not try to bring the mountain to the cattle--as a result of bureaucracy as high as the leadership of the ministry, and ignorance of realities--but lead the animals to the mountains, where they can graze.

This will help cut back our excessively high livestock costs. Hence, as of this very fall let us finalize the above-mentioned program and take measures to resolutely apply it in spring.

Comrades, as for the vegetable sector, I have spoken about harvesting. We have been told that although delayed, crops will be relatively good and sufficient to ensure consumer supplies and winter reserves. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied with the results obtained in this sector. Our vegetable yields are low. The tomato crop, for example, does not exceed 20 tons per hectare, although normally we should obtain a minimum of 40-50 tons per hectare. Tomatoes--especially for market supplies--should only be grown on trellises or stakes. Whatever the conditions, one plant yields at least 1 kg of tomatoes, and there should be 45,000-50,000 plants per hectare. However, in good conditions one plant yields about 2-3 kg as a rule. Why should we waste land for 10-15 tons of tomatoes per hectares, when we could have 40, 50, 60 or even 80 tons? Because work would be more difficult? Some comrades think they are too good to work, and such a mentality must be utterly eliminated. We must practice an intensive system of vegetable-growing in Romania. We must get together all vegetable-growing experts and have a serious talk with them to put order and discipline in this important agricultural sector.

Certain vegetable crops have disappeared. We must expand the area sown to peas, string beans and zucchini. Cabbage should be cultivated so that it can be found on the market all year round. Care must also be taken to ensure summer potatoes. True, this year there have been more than last year, but still not enough. We can and must ensure sufficient quantities of potatoes from the end of May until September--that is for 3 and 1/2 months until the appearance of fall potatoes. We must figure on at least 10 kg of potatoes per capita per month. In some areas the climate is very favorable for spring potatoes--such as Mehedinti and Oltenia--and there we can obtain 15,000-20,000 kg of potatoes per hectare, provided they are sown at the correct density. Large areas sown to vegetables are still not irrigated, and this is no longer acceptable. All counties must see to it that as of next year land sown to vegetables is completely irrigated. Should no irrigation systems be available, vegetables should be sown on small areas, which can be watered from either lakes or wells. Water supply is an essential requirement for growing vegetables. Counting the second crop, on the area at our disposal we can obtain 7-8 million tons of vegetables, which is more than sufficient for the market, for industry and export, and which means yields of about 25 tons per hectare. The counties must examine each species of vegetable, including minor ones, and strive to satisfy consumer requirements. We must discontinue general planning and specify instead how much of each species should be produced to ensure satisfactory supplies. We have discussed these problems with the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture, but the wheels are turning slowly. We have also discussed them with first secretaries. Please take serious measures to remedy the situation so that next year we can have large vegetable crops whatever the conditions, as of March and until winter, beginning with spinach and lettuce. People should be able to eat fresh vegetables and not canned ones until December; of course, one must not forget the counties' obligation to supply all local requirements and to make deliveries to the state stocks. This year there are still counties who call Bucharest to ask for vegetables and fruit, although some of them are chiefly vegetable and fruit-growing counties.

We have a 5-year plan development program for grapes and fruit, and all conditions are available for fulfilling its provisions. In the past 2 days we discussed the question of plantation density for vineyards and fruit trees. We have decided that density norms and number of plants per hectare for fruit trees and vineyards should be sent to each county, to each county committee and people's council and to the Agricultural Directorate, then published as a pamphlet. We cannot obtain large production unless plant density is appropriate and, naturally, unless we have productive species of trees and grapes. Let us now consider orchards, pastures and hayfields. The ministry has suggested that such crops should be discontinued and taken out of the plan. On the contrary, in all hilly and mountainous areas, pastures or orchard grazing should become general practice. Each plantation should be used for pasture and be mowed.

All plantations--except for intensive and superintensive ones--should be used for grazing and haymaking. In some places we should plant bushes and strawberries among the trees. Each county must implement the program on strawberry production. Strawberries ripen early and constitute a source of fresh market fruit for a long period of time. They also provide large quantities of fall canned products in various forms. For each unit and county we should have a program on consolidating isolated vineyards, especially on the plains. Within 3 years we must consolidate such vineyards, while each owner preserves the plot to which he is entitled. We must discontinue companion crops which only hinder agricultural operations and do not yield good results. As for new plantations, I want to call your attention to the fact that we will establish an inquiry commission to find out where vineyards and fruit trees have been planted without permission on land suitable for plowing. No one is entitled to use agricultural land for any other purpose. As far as this question is concerned, the Ministry of Agriculture is in a state of anarchy. Hence, we will create a committee to administer the land. Trees should be planted particularly on hills, on slopes, and not on the plain, where we can sow grain. Trees and vineyards also help preserve the soil on slopes, and yield large production on such locations. And what is more, we can utilize the rest of the land for agriculture. I will ask the county party committees and people's councils to act in accordance with their obligations, to put order in the chaos, and to perform work as stipulated in the law.

More resolute measures are necessary to carry out land aemlioration and drainage work. We have drawn up programs, and I will ask each county to begin concentrated efforts to implement them and to better utilize irrigation systems. I will call your attention to the fact, however, that we are no longer installing small, farm-size [sisteme gospodaresti] irrigation systems. Each county must organize irrigation systems on 50, 100 or 150 hectares, in keeping with local conditions, and also drill for water, thus expanding the area of agricultural production. This, of course, should only be done in areas where it is necessary, because Brasov, for example, with 800 liters per square meter of precipitation in 8 months, does not need irrigation. It is difficult to see how potatoes could suffer in those conditions. I think they suffered because of the poor quality of work. Where land is properly worked, water can be conserved, preserved and ensured. I want all the counties to seriously examine these problems and take due measures.

We must also endeavor to cut down consumption of materials and fuel, to properly utilize machinery and equipment--fixed assets in general--with a view to increasing economic efficiency, and to resolutely apply the new economic mechanism, self-management and self-administration in all sectors.

We must review the programs established for weaker units, both state and cooperative units. We must decide what production should be developed in each unit, including the livestock sector, so that within 2 years we are in a position to improve the current situation. There is no plot of land that cannot produce something, and there is no agricultural unit that cannot become profitable; please establish special programs for each unit. The people's councils and the agricultural bodies, beginning with the ministry, must consistently supervise what happens in those units. They should be given special attention and helped, so that they can overcome their present situation. Stronger county agricultural units and county agricultural institutions, including industrial enterprises, should take weaker units in their care, so that with united forces we can make all agricultural units profitable and develop them accordingly.

Similarly, we must give due attention to the private sector, to cultivating all plots of land available in villages and towns. Not one square meter of land should be left idle: We must give land--such as isolated, small plots--to enterprises, workers, cooperative members and other peasants to plow and cultivate. At the same time, we must pay particular attention to livestock breeding. In view of the measures taken to better utilize hilly and mountainous areas for zootechnical purposes, we must forcefully promote the raising of livestock in individual households and annex-farms [gospodarii-anexe], as well as in towns.

Wherever conditions permit, citizens must raise animals: in some areas, such as the Jiu Valley [mining area] people work fewer hours. The work week is generally being reduced. There are people who only work 6 hours. We should give them a plot of land to cultivate or raise animals, so that they can produce what they need and augment their incomes. We will thus ensure appropriate use of the land and the manpower. Workers employed in villages must also participate in agricultural activities. This is true for towns, too, especially small towns in hilly or mountainous areas. We must work out specific programs per commune and town, and endeavor to implement our decisions.

And now to machinery. We have worked out machinery standards and machinery for the livestock sector, too. The essential thing now is to produce the machines envisaged before considering replacements, because for years the Ministry of Agriculture has been coming up with new ideas and new pictures cut out of magazines, but so far the machinery programs we established have still not been carried out. Let us first achieve what we have decided on in all sectors, and then make the adjustments required by practice. Hence, we do have the machinery and tractors necessary for each crop. The machine-building industry must take measures to produce everything that was decided on; the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Agriculture must decide what is required in keeping with work norms, so that in the course of the current 5-year plan we can complete the mechanization of all agricultural operations, as planned. Our machinery may not be ideal--it will never be ideal--but we will always strive to improve it. However, we must finally complete the mechanization program. All necessary conditions are available for this purpose. The machine-building industry is capable of doing this and the plan provides for the necessary financing.

Comrades, we must improve the organization of agricultural machinery stations. The machinery sector must be completely integrated in state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives. Large state agricultural enterprises should take over agricultural machinery stations and incorporate them. Mechanics should be viewed as permanent employees of the state agricultural enterprise, and its management should be in charge of the machinery and its utilization, as well as of the workers running it. Similarly, mechanics employed by agricultural machinery stations in cooperatives should be treated as permanent workers and members of the agricultural production cooperative. They are to carry out the decisions of the managerial council, the chief engineer and the head of the machinery section, and are directly responsible for all operations. The management of the state agricultural enterprise or of the cooperative decides the order and priority of operations and what is to be done, and is responsible for the results. The managers of agricultural machinery stations incorporated in joint agro-industrial councils are further responsible for providing tractors and machines, in keeping with existing norms, for all sections. They supervise the rational utilization of machinery, and are responsible for repairs and maintenance, and for supplying fuel, spare parts and whatever else is necessary to run the machinery properly. The agricultural machinery stations remain owners of the equipment, tractors and machines.

We plan to change the payment system for work done by agricultural machinery stations. To begin with, we will establish only three areas [as published]. Each unit will be organized on the principle of self-management, and payments will be based on the cost of operations. The division into three areas, according to geographical conditions and soil fertility, predicates the type of machinery used. Different kinds of tractors will be used for work on slopes or on the plain. The agricultural machinery stations will be paid on the basis of work costs. The less expensive the work secured by the management of agricultural state enterprises and of agricultural machinery stations, the less they will have to pay. Payments should be decided according to the following criteria: First, the remuneration due the personnel of the machinery section. They are to carry out all operations decided by the leadership council of the agricultural unit, and must be permanently employed, throughout the year; remuneration is according to the type of work and results produced. The agricultural cooperatives and agricultural state enterprises pay the remuneration, and employ the personnel where they are needed. Secondly, payment will reflect the amount of fuel used.

The state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives must utilize tractors more intensively and have them perform several operations simultaneously, thus saving fuel. In this way work will cost less, given the high cost of fuel. Thirdly, payment for repairs and maintenance: The better the machines are maintained and utilized, the less money needed for repairs. Repair costs can also be cut back by reconditioning and reutilizing spare parts. Fourthly, payment for amortizing the price of tractors and machinery. The state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives must consider well how many tractors and machines they need and fully utilize them, throughout the year, so as to reduce amortization to a minimum. If state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives require additional tractors and machines, they will have to pay additional amortization costs.

Then comes payment for general expenses, which must be kept as low as possible. The agroindustrial council and county bodies establish these expenses, including leadership personnel [as published], in order to ensure the minimum possible financial outlay. This is how payment for the work of agricultural machinery stations is calculated. Uniform costs which do not take real expenses into account will not be applied any longer. Needless to say, uniform local costs will be taken as a basis for calculation. However, how much one has to pay for the work of agricultural machinery stations will depend on individual management and on how one utilizes the machinery. Each unit must make a certain profit--about 6-7 percent--on its work. I think this is a reasonable principle, which permits us to base mechanization work on an economical foundation, in accordance with the quality of work. So much for payment for mechanization in general.

Payment for mechanics and for agricultural personnel must be resolutely based on the overall contract system; for that, as we said, we must clearly explain the nature of the overall contract system. This system must be applied to mechanics, workers, to the chief farm expert and to other specialists in charge of all crops and of livestock. The overall contract system must also be applied to the farm director and the livestock engineer: the farm director will be paid in keeping with the overall contract, like the mechanics and workers, and all can earn several times their base pay if they show good results, large production. Earnings will not be limited. If instead of 4 tons of grain they produce 12 tons, they will get 3 times as much money. We expect this measure to contribute to improving work in agricultural machinery stations. These changes will be printed and sent to the counties for discussion, so that they can be introduced as of next year.

Another point I want to mention is the fulfillment of state stocks of agricultural produce and foodstuffs. We must take steps to ensure complete fulfillment of the provisions on deliveries of agricultural produce and foodstuffs to the state. We must intensify purchases from private producers, particularly potatoes, fruit, livestock and milk. There are more cows in private households than in the cooperatives, nevertheless this sector delivers very little milk. We must promote purchases of milk from all people who have cows and sheep. This also applies to the vegetable-growing sector. Generally speaking, we must keep in mind that private households can and must supply more agricultural produce and foodstuffs. True, people do bring vegetables, fruit, even milk and meat to the market. However, in order to secure safe supplies we must have enough produce in the state stocks. We must fight tendencies--especially in the garden and vineyard sectors--not to ensure state stocks and to rely instead on peasant markets. Ensuring the state stocks is compulsory for providing consumer supplies; what peasants or private producers bring to the market should come on top of what we provide. I am seriously calling your attention to this fact. Ensuring state stocks is one of the essential tasks of agricultural bodies, people's councils and county party committees. We must see to it that all units and all those expected to contribute to the fulfillment of these tasks fulfill their duties with the best conditions. This is a decisive factor for ensuring good consumer supplies. It should be clear to everyone that we cannot eat more than we produce! If we want to eat more, we have to produce more! Our program and the conditions we have permit us to fully satisfy consumer requirements, within the framework of envisaged production. Hence, everybody, town people and villagers, must pay attention to and contribute to achieving agricultural production!

Naturally, should production of a certain item be lower at a given time or during a given period, we should reduce its consumption and replace it by other items.

Generally speaking, we are among the countries with a rather high consumption of vegetables--among the first 10 countries. We are also among the first 10 countries with the largest calory consumption per capita; that means that our consumer supplies are generally good. Despite all shortcomings, this year's crops will permit appropriate fall and winter supplies, until the next crops. However, we are dutybound to harvest, distribute and store crops responsibly, so as to be able to ensure regular monthly, weekly and daily consumer supplies. We have all the necessary conditions in this respect. At the same time, we must resolutely fight any waste and some people's tendency to hoard agricultural produce and foodstuffs. Each person must understand that what we have now is there for everybody; this is in keeping with the principles of our socialist society, of ethics and equity, and of the revolutionary humanitarianism of our system.

Comrades, I will now refer to some organizational problems. Measures have been adopted to improve the organization of the joint agroindustrial councils. This action must be completed within the next few days, so that in September we can be free to focus our attention on agricultural work. We must improve the activities of managements of state agricultural enterprises and increase their responsibility for production work. We must improve activities in agricultural production cooperatives and that of their managers. We must increase the role of general meetings in both state and cooperative units. The masses of working people and cooperative members must be consulted and involved in the leadership of each unit to a greater extent. Specialists, chief engineers, all personnel, all those employed in agriculture must show greater responsibility for the work done in agricultural units. A larger number of specialists and agricultural forces must be sent to basic units where the real work is done. Greater attention must be given to the work of general directorates and other county agricultural trusts and units, which practice too much bureaucracy and too little actual management and guidance of agricultural activities. The same applies to agricultural production unions and county union councils. These must grasp that their role is to be permanently present in cooperatives, to help with the work and to increase production in those units. In the same connection, I want to call your attention to the tendency of forming too many so-called intercooperative, state or cooperative associations. This is a wrong tendency, which weakens the state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, and weakens responsibility for achieving the production. I have heard that associations have been established even for potatoes. Associations may be organized only for the purpose of establishing large livestock, vineyard or fruit-growing complexes, where they help with the storage and processing of produce and foodstuffs. Otherwise, all activities must proceed within units and under their responsibility. These so-called associations swell the ranks of nonproductive personnel and clerks, withdraw specialists from production, increase costs and bureaucracy, undermine the responsibility of basic units, and have negative effects on production. This situation must end! The basic unit is still the state agricultural enterprise: they are responsible for and must administrate all activities. Such unacceptable and incorrect tendencies must be eliminated.

Coming back to organizational questions, all communal, town and county people's councils fulfill their duties. Some of them have obtained good results; unfortunately, however, many are deficient in the exercise of their role and responsibilities in the management of agricultural work.

Similarly, party organizations, basic organizations, communal, town and county committees must also show greater responsibility for agricultural management. It is true that shortcomings noted in agriculture in a given place can be traced back to the respective party organizations and bodies. We have enough cadres for the party bodies and organizations to provide good management for all agricultural activities.

I have repeatedly spoken about the leading role of the party, about the fact that this role is not an abstract concept but a practical reality which should be reflected in the daily work of each communist and each organization for uniting the efforts of the masses of working people to fulfill tasks in all areas, including agriculture.

Measures must also be taken to more rapidly and resolutely improve the activities of the ministry of agriculture, and to link it more closely to reality, to the agricultural units. The ministry must efficiently intervene to solve the complex problems emerging in this sector. The agricultural bodies, the National Council of Agriculture and its Executive Bureau must properly fulfill their duties. We must take resolute steps to ensure that the extensive democratic system we have in agriculture should play a more important role in implementing the 12th congress tasks for agriculture! We have all the necessary conditions for rapidly eliminating shortcomings in agriculture, for improving all activities and for achieving the production envisaged.

At the same time, the other central bodies--the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Supplies, the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry and the Council of Ministers as the central body of economic leadership--must give constant, due attention to agriculture, proceeding from the decisions of the 12th party congress and from the reality that in our country agriculture is one of the essential branches of the national economy. The central bodies and all ministries must contribute to fulfilling agricultural objectives.

The same is valid for the Central Committee bodies and the Central Committee Secretariat, which is directly in charge of daily activities, for the Permanent Bureau and for the newly created Central Committee Agricultural Sector, which is designed to provide more active and efficient solutions to agricultural problems. All party bodies and organizations must fulfill their duties, exercise practical, efficient and direct supervision, and provide guidance for solving the complex problems raised by this important sector. All these cadres must resolutely strive to implement the 12th congress program and decisions with a view to promoting a modern and highly-productive agriculture.

I want to call your attention briefly to several questions concerning industry. We will have a special meeting on industrial matters. First I will mention the need to act, in all counties, to fulfill the production established for each unit, the itemized and export production, and the export plan. As for the investment program, we have taken special measures, and by the end of the year we must complete the entire volume of economic investments, also in the area of housing. I seriously call the attention of the counties to the fact that they must take measures and distribute their forces so as to complete both industrial and agricultural investment projects, and housing and other objectives. We absolutely must finish the entire number of apartments decided upon by the end of the year in each county! Some counties are lagging behind, but I do not want to go into detail now. I only want to call your attention and ask you, once you return home, to examine the situation and take the measures required for this purpose. We have established measures at the central, government level, and have provided the means for optimally fulfilling these tasks.

I want to conclude by once again pointing out the need for measures to properly organize and distribute forces with a view to completing all agricultural operations this fall. I believe that the counties must seriously discuss the problems debated here and establish measures for each unit. The discussions must not be of a general nature, but specific and capable of dealing with the tasks facing each county and each unit. These problems must be discussed as short general meetings in cooperatives and state units as well as in agricultural machinery stations, meetings conducted in the evenings so as not to interfere with agricultural work. By debating these problems and resolutely putting them to the working people, the cooperative members and all peasants and village people, we contribute to solving them, to improving agricultural activities and to implementing the program for increasing agricultural production and continuously increasing consumer supplies.

Let us not forget for a moment that this is one of the basic aspects of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, and that fulfilling the agricultural program is part and parcel of implementing the strategic objective of advancing Romania from the stage of a socialist developing country to that of a socialist country with an average level of development. This is a component element of achieving a new quality of life and work in all areas.

We have at our disposal all the material means required. We have the seed and the materials necessary for attaining our objectives in agriculture. And above all, we have the force of the working people--workers, peasants, cooperative members, specialists and cadres with a high level of qualification. This, the people is the major, decisive force which will enable us to achieve anything. I am convinced that we will eliminate shortcomings and that by the end of the year we will show positive results. Let us meet next year at the same time with agricultural results of which each unit and each county can be proud. I can understand some people's present lack of satisfaction, but I hope that the first secretaries, secretaries in charge of agriculture and other comrades present here will draw the due conclusions and will prove that they are capable of putting order in this area and ensuring a highly-productive agriculture in each county and unit. With this conviction, I wish you success and good health. (loud and prolonged applause)

Please convey to all agricultural workers, peasants, specialists and communists everything that has been discussed here, as well as the trust we put in their joint capability to solve all problems, and best wishes! (loud and prolonged applause)

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES UNION HOLDS PLENUM

AU021935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1736 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Sep (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the plenary meeting of the Council of the National Union of the Producer Cooperative Farms (UNCAP) were held in Bucharest on September 2.

The plenary meeting debated the stage of the fulfilment of the production plan and of this year's budgets of cooperative farm units and set the measures required by the integral fulfillment of the tasks regarding the increase of production with all crops and categories of animals, by the firmer application of the principles of self-management and economic and financial self-administration.

The council also examined the way in which the councils of the unions and of the cooperative farm units acted for developing small-scale industry and the services to the population.

The plenary meeting adopted a programme of action which should mobilize all forces and means in cooperative agriculture with a view to organizing and performing, in best conditions, the large number of operations in the autumn campaign, to properly preparing the next year's crops, and solved organizational questions.

Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, took the floor at the end of the proceedings.

CEAUSESCU VISITS PRAHOVA COUNTY 3 SEPTEMBER

AU030825 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Summary] "This morning RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu began a working visit to Prahova County. On this visit he is accompanied by Comrades Elena Ceausescu, Emil Bobu and Petru Enache." In Prahova, Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by County First Secretary Ion Circei and thousands of working people.

The first stop was in the county seat, Ploiesti Municipality, where the party secretary general visited the new heavy ball bearing plant and the "1 May" machine-building enterprise.

"The visit continues."

USSR AGRICULTURAL ACADEMY CHAIRMAN VISITS

AU011615 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] A delegation of the "V.I. Lenin" Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the USSR led by the academy's chairman, P.P. Vavilov, paid a working visit to our country. On this occasion the members of the Soviet delegation had talks with Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and Silviculture, and with experts and leading cadres in agricultural research.

The guests also visited research institutes and units for cereals, industrial crops, biology, animal feeding, fruit and wine growing and so forth, as well as state and cooperative agricultural units in Calarasi, Arges, Giurgiu and Brasov counties and the Ilfov agricultural sector.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

AU312008 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 31 Aug 81

[Text] Bucharest, 31 Aug (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on August 31 the parliamentary delegation of Japan led by Ganri Yasmashita, president of the Steering Committee of the Proceedings of the Japanese Diet, that visited Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

During the interview, it was highlighted that the Romanian-Japanese relations witnessed a steadily ascending course through the development of the economic, technical, scientific and cultural exchanges, through the expansion of bilateral collaboration and international cooperation. Stress was laid on the special importance of the visit Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to Japan, which gave a fresh impetus to the Romanian-Japanese relations. It was assessed that possibilities existed for further expanding those relations.

The exchange of views on international issues pointed to the need for all the states and peoples to intensify their efforts for halting the aggravation of the world political situation, for solving the conflicts in various parts of the world by peaceful means, by negotiations alone. Both sides underlined the significant role the parliaments, the parliamentarians have in strengthening the links of friendship and collaboration among countries and peoples, in intensifying efforts for the consolidation of peace, the implementation of tangible measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in particular, for the democratization of international life and the building of a new world economic order.

BRIEFS

BRITISH MUNICIPAL DELEGATION--Bucharest, 25 Aug (AGERPRES)--Within the relations of fraternity between Galati Municipality (Romania) and Coventry town (England), over August 19-24 a delegation of this town led by Lord Mayor Philip Robinson paid a visit to Romania. The guests had interviews with local officials, attended the demonstration of Galati working people on August 23 and visited economic and socio-cultural objectives in Galati and Bucharest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0935 GMT 25 Aug 81 AU]

## FESTIVE SESSION HELD ON NONALIGNED ANNIVERSARY

AU011712 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 1 September carries a live relay from the Great Hall of the Federal Assembly of a festive session of Yugoslav organs held on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the first nonaligned summit meeting. The session is opened by SFRY Assembly President Dragoslav Markovic, after which the national anthem is played. Then Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, gives a speech beginning at 1702 GMT and ending at 1743 GMT.

Then Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly, who is presiding over the session, expresses thanks to Kraigher and invites those present to attend the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the 20th anniversary of the first nonaligned summit meeting held in the SFRY Assembly building. The plaque will be unveiled in another part of the SFRY Assembly building.

The announcer says that Petar Stambolic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Cvijetin Mijatovic and Fadilj Hodza, members of the SFRY Presidency; Milos Minic, Andrej Marinc, Branko Mikulic, Dusan Dragosavac and Aleksandar Grlickov, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and other prominent people are attending the session. Delegations of the republics and provinces, delegations of the sociopolitical organizations and representatives of scientific, cultural and public life are also attending the session, as well as heads of the diplomatic missions accredited to the SFRY and participants of the roundtable conference on nonalignment which ended in Novi Sad yesterday.

At 1753 GMT Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly, begins a speech. He then unveils the plaque and the live relay ends at 1801 GMT.

### Kraigher Speech

AU021048 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Speech by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, at a festive session in the Great Hall of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 1 September marking the 20th anniversary of the first conference of nonaligned countries--live]

[Text] Comrades, esteemed guests: It was in this building of our Assembly, in this very hall, where 20 years ago the Belgrade conference of the heads of states or governments of nonaligned countries was held. That was the historical first meeting of representatives of the peoples who lacked any great economic or military power but who, on behalf of all mankind, raised their voices in defense of peace and then, by the relentless logic of development, quickly grew into such a moral and political force unknown in international relations until today. We remember with piety the initiator and host of the conference that opened a new chapter in contemporary international relations, the statesman whose visionary ideas were oriented to mankind's future, our President Tito. We remember his friends and fellow combatants, together with whom he saw the nonaligned policy as the only alternative to the perils of a divided world; Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India; Gamal 'Abdul an-Nasir, president of the United Arab Republic; Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana; Ahmed Sukarno, president of Indonesia; and a number of other statesmen of Asia, Africa and Latin America who were also the pioneers of our movement from the very beginning. Therefore, we pay tribute to the statesmen of Algeria, Afghanistan, Burma, Ethiopia, Guinea, Iraq, Yemen, Kampuchea, Cyprus, Cuba, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Tunisia and Zaire, who participated in the Belgrade conference, as well as to the representatives of Latin American countries, the liberation movements and the socialist and other progressive parties who attended the conference as observers.

The significance, greatness and vitality of the Belgrade conference are constantly being reconfirmed. Probably the most important thing in this connection is the fact that, recognizing the clear historic inevitability of a deep national social, political and economic emancipation of the peoples of the world, in those difficult times of cold war, the conference's participants assessed that the division of the world into military-political blocs and the confrontation between the big powers over the spheres of their political influence and interests threatened the peace and freedom of peoples.

They expressed their conviction that that policy should be opposed by the policy of peace and active peaceful coexistence of peoples and states irrespective of differences in their social systems. Thereby, they awakened the hopes of mankind in the possibility of a different development than that burdened by the rivalry between the big powers and blocs.

The successful course of the anticolonial revolution, which changed the world picture and brought freedom and independence to scores of newly liberated countries, strengthened the belief that it is possible to build a more stable and just world if those who had been used as objects of the policies of the big and powerful became sovereign subjective factors in international relations just as they had already become masters of their fate in their own countries.

The Bandung conference, which was held a few years earlier, represented in its results an experience in principle and an encouragement to the Belgrade meeting. That was the starting point for a joint action to move from the old system, based on domination and inequality, to create new relations in the world that are based on freedom, equality and social justice and that lead to prosperity, as the Belgrade declaration states it.

The year 1961, already distant today, was only one in the series of difficult postwar years that were burdened by many dangers. The ideals which, immediately following the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, led to the founding of the United Nations, awakened the world's optimism for a better common future. However, they very quickly faced the cruel reality of a world divided into antagonistic blocs and exposed to the political, economic and psychological pressures of the cold war, which threatened to turn into a real war at any moment. Considering those events today from a certain distance of time, it is really difficult to find the right words to express the epochal historic significance of the anticolonial revolution, which essentially changed the makeup of the world. Scores and scores of newly liberated independent peoples and countries appeared on the world scene. A majority of them became independent for the first time in their history, and it was through their struggle for freedom, independence, full national and economic emancipation and free allocation of their own economic resources that they provided the essential characteristics and orientation of general progress in the world and of the process of democratization of international relations.

Comrade Tito perceived very early and ofter emphasized that the authentic national liberation revolutions of those peoples--similar to our socialist revolution--raised the preservation and strengthening of independence as their imperative and that that was the motive power for their nonbloc orientations and nonaligned policy, which simultaneously also became the supporting basis for the progressive transformations of each of these countries involving a great number of specific roads.

In this connection, I also want to call attention to Comrade Kardelj's idea that the social and historical roots of nonalignment determined the complete nature and universality of its aspirations, interests and goals. And at the same time, fulfilling its world role, the Nonaligned Movement is strongly influencing the progressive social trends in nonaligned countries and in the world in general.

This dialectical unity--if I may put it this way--has been an essential characteristic of the nonaligned policy from the very beginning, and at the same time it demonstrates to what extent the nonaligned policy is immanent to the processes of national and social emancipation, the processes which, similar to all true social processes of progressive masses, essentially have no limit and no end.

Thus there is nothing usual about the freedom-loving spirits in various parts of the world, devoted to their own countries' independence and ready to struggle for the independence of other peoples, seeking ways out of the aimlessness of the cold war. The Bandung conference as well as a whole series of conferences and meetings of statesmen of nonbloc states in the 1955-61 period--at Brioni, in Accra, (Sanikele), Tunis, Addis Ababa, Cairo, Brazzaville, Casablanca and at the 15th session of the UN General Assembly--were oriented in that direction.

On all those and many other occasions the statesmen involved shared the same feelings and aspirations for independence, freedom, peace and equality. At the same time the maturing of similar ideas in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America indicated the universal character of the nonaligned policy, the character that corresponded to mankind's deepest aspirations from the very inception of that policy.

The criteria of nonalignment and the basic principles and goals of the Nonaligned Movement and policy were clearly and unambiguously formulated as early as in 1961 and have fully confirmed their vitality. The national independence and the right of all countries to their free social, political, economic and cultural development; rejection of ties with big powers; the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and all forms of expansion, foreign domination and hegemony; active peaceful coexistence; noninterference and nonintervention; the stablishment of a new international economic system and sovereignty over natural resources; opposition to the division of the world into antagonistic alliances and blocs; rejection of the policy of creating spheres of influence and negation of the doctrine of balance of fear; refraining from the use of force; and solving disputes by peaceful means are only the most important principles and goals of the Nonaligned Movement and policy. The mere listing of these principles and goals suggests the conviction to what extent this credo of the nonaligned policy is current precisely today. These principles also represent today a reliable and irreplaceable support, criterion and instrument for recognizing and solving the enormous contradictions of the contemporary world in the struggle for peace and the democratization of international relations.

The following summit conferences in Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo and Havana as well as the ministerial conferences in Georgetown, Lima, Belgrade and New Delhi further elaborated and made even clearer the political positions traced by the first conference. A magnificent structure was built on solid foundations. The Nonaligned Movement and policy have durably asserted themselves as an independent and autonomous nature of the Nonaligned Movement and policy, as their essential characteristic, resulted naturally from the national liberation struggles and revolutions of a majority of the countries which have united their international actions on the platform of nonalignment, as well as from their democratic and progressive goals in international relations. The indestructible aspiration of peoples for national liberation, a free choice of the roads of internal development and an independent cooperation within international relations on the basis of equality deeply permeate the idea of nonalignment and the actions of nonaligned countries. At the same time the nonaligned countries are deeply convinced--and this has been confirmed by the experience of the past 20 years--that in this way they are creating the most favorable general international conditions for a free development of each individual country.

It is by their joint and persistent struggle for peace and for strengthening international security during the past 20 years, by their constructive approach to all the numerous international crises and problems, by resolutely striving to implement the principle of active peaceful coexistence and by resolutely striving for disarmament, negotiations and agreements that the nonaligned countries have made an enormous contribution to alleviating the danger of war that is constantly threatening the world. They have prevented a total division of the world into antagonistic blocs by their mere appearance and by their activity within the United Nations and by strengthening the United Nations and transforming it into a universal world forum. They were the first to advocate the opening of a dialogue between the big powers and the creation of the necessary conditions for a relaxation of the international tension, a relaxation of tension that would extend to all parts of the world and all disputes in international relations. Having themselves grown from the anticolonial liberation struggle, the nonaligned countries extend the greatest support and assistance to the peoples who are still struggling against foreign domination.

By defining and asserting the principles that are increasingly gaining a lasting value and are becoming the norms of behavior in the relations between states, the Nonaligned Movement and policy have made and continue to make an enormous contribution to the democratization of contemporary international relations.

Today, the nonaligned countries are the most active UN members, the principal force of condemnation of and opposition to the policy of force and all foreign interferences and interventions and the promoters of the struggle for a new international economic system and for the concept of the developing countries' reliance on their own forces but also, at the same time, of the broadest international cooperation. They are the initiators of the idea of global talks on world problems and on the new international economic system, and they are the protagonists of establishing a new world information system.

These directions of engagement of the Nonaligned Movement assume a special significance precisely today when the world is once again returning to the obsolete stages of cold war. The individual bloc powers are becoming slaves of a situation that they themselves have created and that can be overcome only by a return to the policy of detente, constructive negotiations and a consistent implementation of the principle of active peaceful coexistence. Adopting a critical attitude to that behavior in international relations which is undermining detente and the principles of active peaceful coexistence, we have never taken nor do we take an a priori negative and equalized position toward bloc powers and other countries. As has been emphasized on many occasions, the attitudes that we adopt toward the bloc powers and other countries depend on the extent to which their specific actions and attitudes contribute or fail to contribute to peace, relaxation of tension, respect for independence, and cooperation and progress.

The Nonaligned Movement and policy are striving to overcome the negative aspects of international relations regardless of where these aspects may originate and they are doing that on behalf of the widest interests and in accordance with their basic principles. Implementing these principles, the nonaligned policy does not side with the steps of one or another side because in this manner it would involve itself in the labyrinth of rivalry. It determines its positions independently on each individual international problem, as Comrade Tito emphasized as early as at the first Belgrade conference. We support the positive views of others, primarily by our entire policy within which the indentity with and support for those steps of others that serve general interests will always be sufficiently visible.

Speaking about the principles of nonalignment, I want to especially emphasize that, consistently implementing these principles, which imply an openness to broad cooperation on the basis of equality and permeated by mutual respect, we have established good and friendly relations with the largest number of countries in the world, both within the military-political alliances and outside them. Proceeding from these principles, Yugoslavia has achieved an enviable level of relations with an enormous majority of its neighbors regardless of differences in their international positions. At times we have had among other things some very serious problems in our relations with some of them, but today we have stable borders and friendly relations. We are guided by the same principles and aspirations as regards those with whom we have not as yet, unfortunately, achieved the desired level of mutual relations. I point that out on this occasion because by its essence our policy of good neighborliness is an organic part and a direct expression of our nonaligned policy as our permanent orientation.

As Comrade Tito often recalled, 20 years ago the nonaligned countries appealed to the big powers to sit down at the table and negotiate to open the road to a relaxation of tension. Today the nonaligned countries are actively participating in solving all key problems of international relations, providing initiatives and making contributions with an aspiration to overcome the narrow one-sided bloc concepts in the general interest. Although the conditions have naturally changed, we are also compelled today to appeal to the big powers to sit down without any delay at the negotiating table and to approach constructively and in a peaceful manner the search for solutions leading to strengthening detente and making it universal.

The first conference in Belgrade 20 years ago was attended by 25 countries and by another 3 countries as observers. Today that number has been quadrupled, while at the same time nearly 40 other countries, movements and organizations are manifesting their attitude to nonalignment by attending the meetings as observers or invited guests.

Two decades ago the Nonaligned Movement and policy were regarded to a considerable degree as a passing aspiration of a group of countries to give vent to their ill feelings because of the alarming state of relations in the world, by acting as a moral factor. Today the Nonaligned Movement and policy are a widely recognized and respected lasting factor of international relations.

For a long time many protagonists of bloc exclusiveness believed that the movement would become polarized and that its parts would join the blocs. The opposite has happened. No country has turned its back on the nonaligned policy, and several scores of new countries have joined the movement. Consequently today the movement's members represent a majority of UN member-countries.

Twenty years ago, the nonaligned countries appealed for more aid to developing countries and for a change in their position, perceiving that independence, security, peace and the dignity of man are incompatible with poverty and illiteracy. Contending with tremendous economic difficulties in the very first years of their independence, the newly liberated countries have become aware that the existing system of international economic relations itself hampers their development and that if they submit to the working of heterogeneous capitalist relations of the international market and the operations of multinational companies they are inexorably led to an increasing economic dependence on the developed countries, their former masters.

Disturbances in their development are also caused by divisions into economic blocs which close themselves, erecting various protectionist and other barriers. With the existence of drastic inequalities, conditions which are formally equal for all have in fact been an instrument of exploitation at the hands of the rich and the powerful. Any new achievement of the scientific and technological revolution has merely widened the existing deep gap, and protectionism, inflation and monetary instability in the recession which has existed for years push the developing countries into an increasingly serious position.

The nonaligned and other developing countries now possess an elaborated vision of different and more democratic international economic relations. As the most active nucleus of a wide group of the developing countries, the nonaligned countries have contributed most to the creation of the blueprint for a new international economic order, a blueprint which now exceeds by far the original framework of asking for aid and which embraces the most important problems in the field of trade, raw materials, industrial development, technology transfer and data processing systems, the operations of multinational companies and monetary-financial relations.

The blueprint of a new international economic order now proceeds above all from the interdependence of all the countries and the joint responsibilities for the future of mankind, and from the necessity of changes in the economic structure, the provisions of equal relations in the utilization of the available resources and the pursuit of joint interests. It proceeds from the need to bridle uncontrolled trends which have led to the situation in which less than one-fourth of mankind possesses four-fifths of the wealth of the planet. This blueprint also provides a way to solve crises and many problems of the developed countries, such as unemployment, limited utilization of production capacities, and restrictions on further development in which the military-industrial complex swallows the greatest human and material resources and scientific achievements, not to speak of other negative consequences of this situation.

By working out that content of the new international economic order and persistently striving to realize it, the nonaligned countries have demonstrated to the world not only that it would be necessary but also quite possible to end the vicious circle of wastage and poverty, of remorseless destruction of human and natural resources and the fear of tomorrow. It is a blueprint which creates room for an undreamt-of development of production forces and puts them at the service of progress for the whole of mankind. It is quite natural that the struggle for the new international economic order is becoming more and more a strong cohesive factor among the nonaligned countries. Even at present it possesses that strong mobilizing role which the struggle for peace, independence and equality in the world possessed in its time, in the pioneer years.

All this goes to show to what extent the Nonaligned Movement and policy are a real material force in the world, capable of responding to their historic task.

Respected guests, comrades: The present extremely complicated situation in the world which causes concern, bringing further tensions and dangers to peace every day, puts an additional emphasis on the role and the tremendous responsibility of the Nonaligned Movement and policy in searching for solutions to those burning issues on which peace, security, a way out of the crisis and the mastering of the unequal conditions for the development of countries depend. The peace in the world is increasingly threatened because numerous acute problems are not being solved, the old hotbeds of crises are continuing and new ones are opening and international tension is constantly increasing. The use of force and interference in the internal affairs of other countries is becoming more and more prevalent. International economic relations are essentially deteriorating and the gap between the developed and developing countries is widening.

Our attitude toward assaults on the independence of others, toward interference and outside pressure is well known. It proceeds both from our socialist convictions and from the fundamental principles of nonalignment. For us there is and can be no doubt about the fact that interventions, interference and outside pressure on any independent country and under any pretext whatever are impermissible. We also view from that position the problem of Kampuchea, Afghanistan and El Salvador. In the same way we will view any other similar case, whoever may provoke it. For us it is a matter of principle and we proceed from this principle equally in all such cases. This occasion, which is devoted to nonalignment, is the right opportunity to stress this once again.

The entire development so far demonstrates that blocs do not offer any guarantees that they can provide a lasting and generally acceptable solution, for many problems are to a considerable extent a result of their conflicts and contest. Therefore the very existence of the nonaligned countries and a consistent implementation of the nonaligned policy narrows the room and the scope of these dangerous contests and opens up the road to detente as a universal process.

It is an encouraging fact that resistance to the policy of force and domination is increasingly present in the modern world. The strivings for independence, equality and autonomous social development are becoming increasingly pronounced and resolute in all fields and continents, in all countries. The nonaligned countries, and others in addition, see in the nonaligned policy the correct way toward protecting their independence, toward relations on an equal footing and the preservation of peace in the world, as well as toward a free internal social development in accord with the specific social relations and conditions of each country.

The Nonaligned Movement and policy have become now more than ever the widest aspect of the progressive movements in the world. Together with other nonaligned countries we have always believed that the policy of relaxation and cooperation, the policy of detente, has no alternative and must be the universal process which comprises all the problems and all the regions. The entire policy of nonalignment is a concrete striving for detente precisely in this sense, be it that it advocates talks and better relations between the big powers, respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence and sovereign rights of all the countries and peoples to their own free development and foreign policy, the solving of existing crises in a peaceful way or the implementation of a policy of broad democratic cooperation of all the countries.

The problems and resistance hampering or even preventing a policy of detente are present everywhere. This includes Europe which, through the Helsinki conference, raised the policy of detente to the level of a solemnly undertaken obligation. The unsatisfactory present course of the Madrid meeting of the CSCE--because of a striving by a small number of countries to transform this gathering, devoted to the strengthening of detente, into a field of bloc contests--makes us intensify our efforts so as to open the road to greater mutual trust, to less fear and less real danger of a new arms race as well as to wider cooperation in the interest of European and all other peoples.

Close cooperation of the neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe aiming at these goals demonstrates in its way how the strivings of nonalignment are congruent with democratic humanist strivings, inspiring the neutral and other countries as well as many political forces, parties and national movements.

The existing situation in the Middle East and the Mediterranean causes extraordinary concern. The persistent restriction of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, the heavy Israeli attacks on Lebanon and on the Palestinian refugees there, the characteristic terrorist attack on the nuclear installations in Baghdad, as well as increasing tension in the Gulf and in various points in the Mediterranean are manifestations of a wider and dangerous crisis in a very sensitive part of the world in our neighborhood. In it one can easily recognize the strivings of foreign factors to use this situation within the framework of their global interests, which only protracts the crisis and makes it worse.

Such a situation in this part of the world, in which countries of differing positions and views are neighbors, demands by this very fact persistent efforts that may cause relaxation in the interest of all the Mediterranean peoples and peace in the world.

We particularly stress that the present accelerated arms race must be stopped. If a war breaks out, everything else disappears in a moment, Jawaharlal Nehru warned in 1961 in Belgrade. Just as every step leading to the maintenance or increase of this dangerous race causes us concern, we are deeply alarmed and concerned by the acute problem of covering Europe with medium-range nuclear missiles--Pershing-2, the cruise missiles, and the SS-20--as well as all other kinds of missile systems which, armed with dangerous warheads, threaten the existence of our continent. We have received with deep regret the news of the U.S. Government's decision to begin producing the neutron bomb. Europe has been the greatest arsenal even until now, and now it is faced with new dangers.

As a nonaligned socialist country we strive for stopping the arms race and for beginning a process of real disarmament, primarily in those places where the dangers of means of mass destruction are the greatest because of their tremendous concentration. An important role in this respect should be played by a spread of the zones of peace and of nuclear-free zones and by strict respect for the status of such zones, as well as by a strengthening of confidence-building measures.

Proceeding from the general conditions of the Nonaligned Movement, which is consistently striving for a disarmament process, which is in the vital interests of all peoples regardless of the international position of their countries, we emphasize the enormous responsibility of the military-political alliances and big powers and appeal to them and seek their restraint at this time to stop, even if only at the last moment, the dangerous process, the final outcome of which is fraught with the greatest danger for all. The peoples will not value the big and powerful countries by the superiority of their arms, which after all is difficult to achieve on a long-term basis nowadays, but instead by their real contributions to the policy of relaxation of tension which should bring more calm and greater security to all peoples and all men as well as the possibility for them to develop more successfully in peace and cooperation.

Together with all other nonaligned countries, we attach extraordinary importance to a completion of the decolonization process and the fulfillment of the right of all peoples of southern Africa to freedom, independence and autonomous decisionmaking on their own development. Decolonization has been organically linked with nonalignment from the very beginning, just as is the case with everything else that serves peoples, that serves the freedom of peoples and men. We are aware of the aspirations to sidetrack the decolonization process and to place it in the service of narrow interests of obsolete forces and, instead of solving this problem, to open new scope for interference from outside. That situation places before the nonaligned and all other countries, and especially the United Nations, an obligation to make new and consistent efforts to eliminate, through a final decolonization, the burden of the past, the colonial dependence, apartheid and racial discrimination and at the same time restrict the scope for the imposition of external factors, the consequences of which affect all of us.

The present armed attack of the South African regime on independent and nonaligned Angola deserves the sharpest condemnation all the more. An enormous majority in the United Nations and in its Security Council has justly vigorously condemned that aggressive act of the Republic of South Africa, which is unfortunately still continuing. The act of preventing the Security Council from performing its basic role and standing in the way of the aggressor in defense of the independence and integrity of a sovereign country is thus all the more surprising and alarming.

Taking at their sixth conference in Havana the initiative for opening global talks on international economic cooperation for development, the nonaligned countries once again confirmed their unity on the platform of a new international economic system. Relizing and constantly emphasizing the essential links between and interdependence of problems in all the most important spheres of international economic relations, in the spheres of trade, energy, food, development and monetary and financial issues, as well as the need for changes in the economic and corresponding social structures of developing countries, the nonaligned countries clearly demonstrated that, despite certain results, the partial and disjointed negotiations held so far have ultimately promoted delays and avoidance to a greater extent that the real discovery of essential solutions. The nonaligned countries have also opposed the tendency of some developed countries in the period of the crisis of detente and the crisis of their own economies to push into a secondary place the solutions for the problems of international economic relations and development. They are deeply convinced that the developed countries also cannot find a way out of their economic disruptions and difficulties without a jointly determined world policy of development and without progress toward specifically solving the problems of building a new international economic system.

Despite all the difficulties and pressures to which they have been and continue to be exposed, the nonaligned and developing countries have overcome various shortcomings and trials. Primarily as a result of their reasonable and constructive attitude, today the idea of global talks in its basic outline has been widely accepted even though not all opposition has been overcome. Some opposition concerns the essential issues in this connection. We believe that real conditions exist for the forthcoming meeting of the heads of state and government of 22 developed and developing countries in the city of Cancun in Mexico to contribute to overcoming the differences that continue to stand in the way of a general expression of the political will in favor of opening the global talks and, in a wider sense, to exercise an influence in favor of creating a more favorable climate for solving the most important problems of international economic relations and for ensuring a real acceleration of the development of developing countries.

Without making a start in really solving this, in its own way, key problem of the contemporary world, the problem which contains the contradictions of our era exacerbated to the extreme, we cannot count on a further emancipation of countries and general progress, on the democratization of international relations and thereby also on security and reliable peace in the world.

Simultaneously, the increasingly strong orientation of developed and developing countries to their own forces and potentials as well as to uniting their possibilities is also of an enormous importance. The recent Caracas conference of the Group of 77 provided a new framework and initiatives for mutual economic cooperation among developing countries. That is also one of the priorities of our country and in this connection we must be even more effectively organized to act according to contemporary methods and a long-term orientation, taking into account the special position of the least developed developing countries and the special measures of assisting their development.

The energy progress which especially affects the least developed among the developing countries is of a great importance. It is certain that other developing countries, and especially those which have energy sources, can make a very great contribution to alleviating this problem in a way that would contribute to the solidarity and unity of nonaligned and developing countries. We have always stressed--and Comrade Tito often did--how important it is for the nonaligned countries to make possible a successful implementation of principles of the nonaligned policy through the example of their relations and the unity of their actions.

We have never been concerned about the differences in views which after all are a logical reflection of the differences in historical heritage, geopolitical position or level of development. All the more have we attached and do we continue to attach great importance to democratic relations in our movement, which make possible the unhindered expression of all views and the coordination of views, as a basis for joint actions, through a democratic dialogue inspired by the nonaligned principles. This democratic nature, essentially different from the bloc discipline, is one of the essential characteristics of nonalignment and represents an important factor of attraction for many countries.

However, what is a cause for concern is the gross deviation from this practice when individual nonaligned countries try to solve their inherited or other disputes by resorting to the use of force. At this moment, when--resting on what we have achieved and being aware of the responsibility we have--we direct our view to the future of nonalignment, we wish to point out again how necessary it is that the nonaligned countries should solve their disputes exclusively through peaceful ways, just as we demand others to do.

In this connection we see a great role of the regional organizations as well as the need to create a machinery in the movement, or in the United Nations, which may successfully solve disputes before they grow into conflicts. Resorting to force and opening up conflicts jeopardizes the independence of the countries involved, stops or slows down their development, harms their prestige and that of the movement, provides scope for outside interference and through all these things seriously weakens the achievements attained thanks to nonalignment: independence, peaceful cooperation and common progress.

Our common ideals and ideas, high common interests of the nonaligned policy which contain the interests of all the nonaligned countries and all mankind, force us to make an appeal at this meeting to Iraq and Iran to overcome their conflicts, to stop the armed actions and to immediately begin to peacefully solve their disputes on the foundations of rights, justice and the principles of nonalignment.

Not for a moment can we lose sight of the tremendous tasks of responsibility facing the movement and its seventh summit meeting in the present situation. Our next summit meeting would certainly gain much in prestige and in its ability to be fully successful if the armed conflicts were stopped and resolved and the grave disputes between the several nonaligned countries were overcome before it begins, in the interest of those countries and in general interest.

Yugoslavia will continue to strive for the greatest possible unity of the Nonaligned Movement and its action ability on the basis of the original principles of the Nonaligned Movement and policy which the great founders of our movement left us as a pledge. The entire 20 years' history of our Nonaligned Movement has shown that these principles founded at the Belgrade conference have a lasting value and constitute a solid foundation for building a new and more just world of tomorrow.

Preparing for fresh actions and especially for the forthcoming seventh conference of the nonaligned countries and looking into the future, I wish to recall the words President Tito said at the sixth summit in Havana: Our movement is attuned to the key problems of the present world, the questions of peace, security, development and general progress. It expresses essential interests of all mankind and not only a part of it. This makes its historical responsibility greater. This responsibility rests on all of us. We must never lose sight of what is common to us and what unites us. We must resist everything that separates us and that favors the infiltration of foreign interests in our ranks. Our constant interest and strategic aim at this moment is to further affirm the original principles of the nonaligned policy and on the basis of them to strengthen the solidarity, unity and action ability of the Nonaligned Movement. These are reliable signposts of our progress in the future. It is only in this way that we may successfully contribute to the building of the world we strive for.

These words by Comrade Tito continue to be fully topical. For us, they constitute an encouragement but also an obligation that we invest even greater efforts to realize the noble aims of nonalignement. Our independent position in internation relations and our devotion to the nonaligned policy have their deep roots in our revolution and our entire postwar history. In such a position and policy we see the best, the only possible way of continuing the basic values of our revolution but also our obligation which we, as a socialist country, have toward progress in the world.

For ourselves we see no kind of activity that would be more progressive than the aims and principles of nonalignment--Comrade Kardelj made a theoretical contribution in this respect--so that all nations and people in the world may be free in security and prosperity. We are convinced that it is precisely a consistent nonaligned policy that leads most to the realization of the communist vision of the world constructed by the greatest progressive minds of mankind. We deeply believe and we have often pointed out that the era in which we live is opening up, through the laws of social and economic development, increasing scope for the nonaligned policy and the ideals and aims which inspire us. If we want to avoid a cataclysm, the world must sooner or later step on the road of peace, cooperation and comprehensive development to the benefit of all nations and all people. Therefore nonalignment for us and for many, many others--to quote Comrade Tito's thought again--is not only the conscience but also the future of mankind. Thank you. [applause]

## Markovic Speech

AU021530 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 1 Sep 81

[Speech by Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly, at a festive session in the Great Hall of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 1 September on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the first conference on nonaligned countries--live]

[Text] Comrade, Esteemed guests: The conference of heads of state and government of nonbloc countries opened 20 years ago today with a welcoming speech by President Josip Broz Tito in the great Hall of the SFRY Assembly. High-level representatives of the 25 participating countries and of the 3 countries that attended as observers from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America expressed the need of people all over the world to place their forces in the service of peace, negotiations and agreement. This would avoid the catastrophic consequences of brinkmanship and direct the world along the path of trust and international cooperation, peace, independence and territorial integrity of states, liquidation of colonialism and the establishment of new, more equitable economic relations between the rich and the poor and between the developed and nondeveloped.

That was a real vision, a program for an entire era. The peoples of the world needed a stable peace, freedom and equality, trust and cooperation, and not a passing lull guarded over by armies confronting one another and under the so-called guarantee of enormous arsenals. This requirement, affecting the existence of mankind, is equally valid today.

The idea that the countries that in one way or another are not tied to blocs should participate in international events as effectively as possible--especially those that directly or vitally concern them--has been engendered in the awareness that at the present time the responsibility for the future of mankind cannot depend only on a few states, however big and powerful they may be. I can say without exaggeration that the countries represented at this conference, and many others that do not belong to any grouping, represent an overwhelming majority of the world public opinion. They represent mankind's conscience, Tito said at the Belgrade conference.

The time that has elapsed has confirmed time and time again the importance of the people's coming together in order to implement these objectives and the importance of the adopted principles of the struggle for new international relations. Since then the world has changed in many ways.

The nonaligned and nonbloc countries and the Nonaligned Movement and policy have significantly contributed to the new state of relations and to the growth of the influence of the forces of peace and progress. However, some complex and difficult problems of the present have not yet been overcome and resolved.

The long term, topical and universal significance of the principles adopted in the declaration of the Belgrade conference has been confirmed by the present era of inherent danger of confrontations and the use of force in the solution of outstanding questions between countries and peoples, and the tendency to maintain old colonial relations, as well as grave trials for the existence of entire peoples and countries in the present economic system. The words inscribed in the Belgrade conference declaration that the expansion of nonbloc areas of the world is the only way to avoid a total division of the world and that nonbloc countries are an encouragement for all the peoples fighting for genuine independence and equality have a very convincing ring about them. In the years since, this line has been followed by many nations. Today the Nonaligned Movement embraces over 100 countries of the world.

Speaking of nonalignent as a new world power and bearing in mind the basic motives that gather together people around a policy of nonalignment, Edvard Kardelj rightly pointed out that the policy of nonalignment had been engendered precisely in this persistent struggle for independence, for peaceful active coexistence among the peoples and for a new world system of economic and political relations. It is not only a weapon in the struggle for national independence but also a new guarantee in the process of integrating mankind on the basis of national equality and democratic unification of peoples instead of through the establishment of hegemonistic systems, a division of influence in the world or a division of the world into blocs.

Along this way nonalignment became on one of the most powerful moral-political factors in the struggle for new relations, peace and equal cooperation between peoples and countries. When we recall that the Belgrade conference was followed not only with reservations but the doubts and disavowals, and when we today, on the other hand, see that all the countries in the world, including the great powers, accept nonalignment as a force to be reckoned with, then one can realize fully and clearly the meaning and the significance of the Belgrade conference and of the principles adopted then as a basis for the struggle for new relations in the world.

Today not only the countries that are full-fledged members of the Nonaligned Movement but other countries and peoples, too, and other social forces fighting for the interests and objectives of the policy of nonalignment, are inspired in various ways by this policy. This guarantees not only the vitality of the principles of nonalignment, but speaks also of the great responsibility facing the nonaligned countries, their governments and political forces in their bilateral relations and in the struggle for international relations to assert the original principles of nonalignment--the principles of the struggle for equality, independence, peace and understanding among peoples.

These are the reasons why in this jubilee anniversary year, in the building of the SFRY Assembly, which 20 years ago was a kind of home of the words, initiatives and actions of the peace-loving world, we are unveiling a memorial plaque commemorating the Belgrade conference of the heads of state and government of the nonbloc countries.